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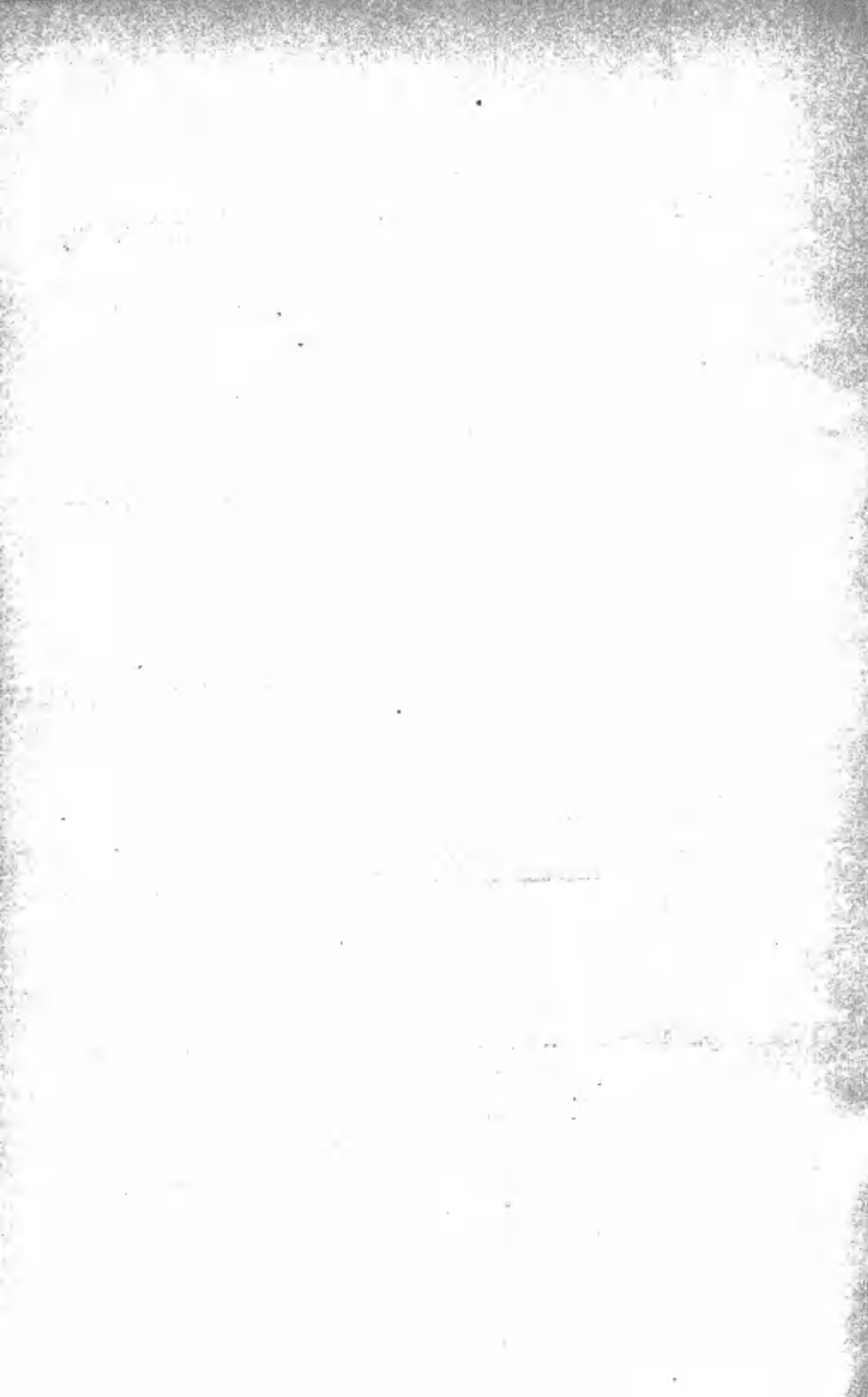
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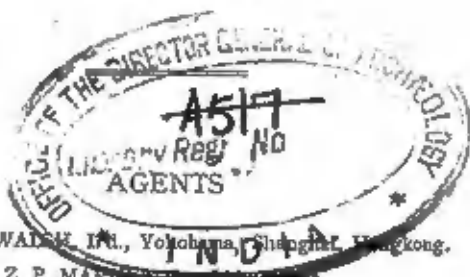
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**THE JAPANESE TRADE AND RESIDENCE
IN THE PHILIPPINES**

**BEFORE AND DURING THE SPANISH
OCCUPATION**

M. T. Paske-Smith



INTRODUCTION

The following article is an attempt to give a consecutive account of the early relations of Japan with the Philippines. In writing it I have avoided detailed mention of Christian work in Japan itself, although I came across many interesting documents in the monasteries of Manila and in the National Library of Madrid which bear upon that subject. The facts related are partly based on various historical works such as those of Father Colin, Father Concepcion, Father Chirino, Morga and Zunega. Father Colin's work was published in 1673, Father Concepcion's in 1788. Morga, who was a member of the Supreme Court (Real Audiencia) in Manila from 1595-1603, published his "*Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*" in 1609. Father Pedro Chirino wrote five years earlier in 1604; he was in Manila from 1590-1602. Reference has also been made to a work written by the Parish priests of Manila from 1581 to 1681 and kept in the Cathedral of Manila. Much information has been obtained from the manuscripts in the Dominican and Franciscan Convents; more especially from the Chronicle of the Franciscan Order, to which the Father Preceptor kindly allowed me access. In addition I have made use of the work of Blair and Robertson and paid visits to the British Museum and National Library of Madrid, in both of which places there are a few manuscripts which bear upon the subject of this article.

As a matter of interest I would mention here the existence in the National Library of Madrid of an autographic letter of Andres de Urdanetta, Viceroy of Mexico, to Philip the Second of Spain suggesting an expedition in 1561 from Mexico to the Philippines under the command of General Pedro Menendez.

Finally I must state that I owe the idea of this article to the Venerable Archdeacon, The Rev. A. King of Tokio, who handed me various notes on the subject made by him when in Manila.

The Spanish Expedition under the command of Legaspi arrived in the Philippines in 1565, but it was not until 1571 that the city of Manila was founded. As early as 1567 Legaspi in a report to his master Don Philip the Second of Spain makes mention of the Japanese and their trading relations in the Islands and states that this trade consisted mainly in porcelain and coloured silks. It has been greatly debated whether the Japanese had penetrated into the interior of the Island before the advent of the Spanish. From the writings of various authors and manuscripts it seems clear that Japanese were in frequent communication with the North of Luzon but that such expeditions were confined to trading relations and no serious attempts were made at settlements. Foreman has it that the Japanese at the arrival of the Spanish spread themselves over the Laguna Province and further southwards towards the Camarines. It may be that many Japanese were left behind by the vessels which came to trade for the purpose of pushing their trade inland and that these Japanese settled and intermarried with the natives. In connection with this subject it is interesting to note the opinions shortly to be published of Father Malumbres of the Dominican Order in Manila, who kindly put his manuscript at my disposal. Father Malumbres' opinion based on the study of former works on the subject, especially those of Blumenthal 1882, Father Gainoa 1890 and Secretary Dean Worcester 1906, and on the documents and manuscripts in the possession of the Dominican Monastery, which was for centuries in the charge of Cagayan, Northern Luzon, is as follows:

"I will now give my humble opinion based on experience and the documents in our archives. I believe that in the mountains existing in the north of Luzon lived originally three distinct races which were, the Black (negra), the Malayan and the Mongolian. I confess that to-day no pure race is to be found in the said mountains except a few 'Negrotes' who live a nomad life and without communication with the other races in the northern range from Cape de Engaño to Palaman. I am of the opinion that the 'Ilongotes' are a mixture of Mongol and Malay and believe that in times considerably before the arrival of the Spanish in these Islands, Japanese were either shipwrecked or came for the purpose of trade to these coasts and at the same period or before, the same happened to the Moros (Joloanos). In this way we can explain the somewhat whitish features and the occasional thick beard of the Ilongotes, as mentioned in 1755 by the Franciscan Father Olivencia. The visits of the Japanese to these Islands is clearly proved by the battle between them and Don Juan Carrion in the river Cagayan in 1582."

It is also interesting to note that Father Malumbres is of the opinion that the present inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the river Ana, Lingayen, to the north of Baubang are a mixture of Ysinay and the remains of the Chinese expedition under Limahon, of which a short account will be given later. This opinion is founded on the work of the Augustinian Father Cacho, who makes mention of the written characters in use among them and of the fact that they write from the right downwards like the Japanese and Chinese. Legaspi in a further letter dated 1569 to Philip the Second of Spain, describes Japan as rich in silver mines and the people as civilised in their usages. From other letters of various officials we learn that the Japanese vessels used to come down from the north in October and March, making use of the favourable winds at those periods. In 1574 Legaspi himself reports to Philip the Second the yearly arrival of Japanese and their trade not only with Manila but in the interior.

In connection with this trade the following taken from Morga's history is worthy of note.

"In this island of Luzon particularly in the provinces of Manila, Pampanga, Pangasinan (Laguna) and Ilocos (these are the provinces over which the Japanese traders are supposed to have spread) very ancient clay vessels of a dark brown colour and of a sorry appearance are found by the natives, some of medium size and others smaller, marked with characters and stamps. They are unable to say when or where they obtained them; but they are no longer to be acquired nor are they manufactured in the islands. The Japanese prize them highly, for they have found that the root of an herb which they call Tscha and which when drunk hot is considered as a great delicacy and of medicinal efficacy by the kings and lords of Japan cannot be effectively preserved except in these vessels, which are so highly esteemed all over Japan that they form the most costly ornaments of their show rooms and cabinets. Indeed so highly do they value them that they overlay them externally with fine gold embossed with great skill and enclose them in cases of brocade, and some of these vessels are valued at and fetch 2,000 to 11,000 reales (a real is about 2½d.). The natives of these islands sell them to the Japanese at very high rates and take much pains in the search for them on account of the eagerness with which they have been sought for."

The same author refers to Carletti's visit to Japan in 1597, when the vessel was rigorously searched by the Japanese authorities for such articles lest any be imported secretly as the Lord of Japan wished to buy them all. In addition to this trade in old jars, Morga mentions that the bulk of the cargo of the vessels arriving yearly from Nagasaki is wheat flour for the provisioning of Manila and highly prized salt meats. "As for other articles they used to bring fine woven silk goods of mixed colours, beautiful and finely decorated screens done in oil and gilt; all kinds of cutlery, many suits of armour, catans and other weapons all finely wrought; also writing cases, boxes and small cases of wood,

"japanned and curiously marked, excellent fresh pears, barrels and casks of good salt tunny, cages of sweet-voiced larks, called *finbaros* and other trifles. Also they generally bring a quantity of silver in plates and it is sold at moderate rates."

In another part of Morga we find mention of horses ■ follows:

"Some horses of good colour are brought from Japan. They have well shaped bodies, thick hair, large fetlocks, large legs and front hoofs, which makes them look like draft horses. Their heads are rather large and their mouths hard. They run but slowly but walk well and are spirited and of much mettle."

These vessels, reported by Morga as coming in October and March, used to return to Japan in June and July with their purchases, which consisted, according to the same writer, of raw Chinese silk, gold, deerskin and brazilwood for dyes; also honey, manufactured wax, palm and Castilian wine, civet cats, large vessels in which to store tea (as mentioned above), glass, cloth and other commodities from Spain.

From the foregoing accounts of the early trade between Manila and Japan it is clear that much information must have been obtained on both sides regarding the resources of the two countries. The Spanish drew most of their information, no doubt, by way of Macao, and from the Spanish priests who resided in Japan and who were in frequent communication with that city. In 1569 Marcelo Ansaldo, a priest, wrote a memorial setting forth his desire to ■ from Manila to Japan. He proposed to build a vessel for the voyage, which should last with good weather fifteen or sixteen days. From this memorial we may conclude that hitherto no Spanish ship had passed from Manila to Japan, but that the trade was entirely carried on by the Japanese vessels. Ansaldo visited Japan and has left us a map now in the National Library at Madrid.

During these early years of occupation the Spanish were no doubt too occupied in pacifying the natives of the interior and establishing themselves, to think much of other expeditions, military or otherwise, to other lands. From the various reports of Legaspi from the time of his arrival until his death, and the reports of his successors we learn that every opportunity was taken to learn the resources of their neighbours. The fame of the Spanish and their settlement in Manila had also naturally been carried both to China and Japan and in the year 1574 we find the Spaniards hard pressed by the attack of the Chinese pirate Limahon and his lieutenant Sioco, a Japanese. This expedition arrived at Corregidor at the mouth of the Bay of Manila on November 29, 1574, and consisted of sixty-two vessels with 1,500 women, two thousand soldiers, sailors, artillery, etc. Limahon ordered Sioco to land with 600 men to attempt a surprise. Sioco landed at Parañaque by mistake and was discovered when marching along the shore to Manila by the natives, who, imagining it to be one of the periodical descents of the Moros from the south, notified the Spaniards accordingly. The Spanish, however, did not believe the news and allowed Sioco to march up to the gate near the Master of the Camp's house before taking alarm. The Chinese surrounded the house, and the Master of the Camp's wife coming to the window and thinking they were natives shouted, "Go, dogs, for to-day you will all die." This speech was translated to Sioco who was greatly enraged and ordered the house to be burned. Sioco, after killing the Master of the Camp, advanced against the city, but the Spaniards had utilised the moments gained by his delay to man the walls and Sioco was forced back to rejoin Limahon at Cavite. After three days a further attack was delivered by Sioco, but he was killed in the attempt. Limahon then retired to Parañaque, where he re-embarked and sailed to Lingayen whence he was finally dislodged by the Spanish in 1575. A large part of his troops seem to have stayed behind and intermarried with the natives. It is their descendants to whom Father Malumbres refers in his work

mentioned above. It is also to be noted that the Spanish were assisted by Chinese men-of-war sent in search of Limahon by the Viceroy of Fukien. The next few years were doubtless passed by the Spanish in quietly pacifying the surrounding country, although during the administration of Maldonado, a proposal was sent home to Spain to fit out an expedition to conquer China and Japan. This proposal shows us how uncertain and unreliable the information received regarding those two Empires must have been. In the year 1582 we find the first collision between the Spaniards and the Japanese. The Governor General, Don Gonzalo Ronquillo, received news from the north that a body of Japanese had arrived with twenty six vessels under Taifusa and had landed in the mouth of the river Cagayan in spite of the spirited opposition of the natives. Ronquillo immediately recognized the necessity of dislodging them and despatched Don Pablo de Carrion to the north in a galley with a hundred soldiers. With this expedition went two Fathers, Francisco Rodriguez of the Franciscan Order and Father Christoval de Salvatierra of the Dominican Order. The former has left us a detailed account in the *Chronicles of his Order*.

Carrion arrived at the port of Bolinao in August 1582, where he received reinforcements. On arriving at Cape Boxeador in the extreme north of Luzon, he met one of the Japanese vessels, attacked it and after a desperate fight succeeded in capturing it. The valour of the Japanese and their double-handed swords seem to have excited the admiration of the Spanish. Carrion then rounded the cape and aided by a fog entered the river Cagayan and landed. The Japanese, however, had received news of his coming from members of the crew of the captured vessel who had managed to escape by swimming. Taifusa immediately led his men to the attack of the Spanish, who had entrenched themselves. Twice the Japanese delivered an assault even seizing the barrels of the Spanish guns with their hands. Both times they were repulsed by means of artillery and so great was his loss in the second assault that Taifusa

embarked his men and sailed away. News of the victory was sent to Ronquillo, who, realising the importance of holding Cagayan in force, ordered Carrion to remain and found a city. There seems to be some doubt as to the name given to it; some Spanish writers mention it as Nueva Segovia which is now the name of the province. The city was most probably on the site now occupied by Laloc or Laoag. This encounter must have brought home to the Spaniards the necessity of securing the country from such raids and invasions. During the next few years every effort was made to fortify Manila, Cebu and other positions in the Islands. In 1585 a strong memorial was forwarded to the Council of the Indies in Madrid recommending the establishment of a fleet in order to protect the northern shores of Luzon (ie. Cagayan) from the raids of the Japanese. At the same time the Spanish authorities in Manila took the precaution of establishing the Chinese and Japanese in separate districts outside the city.

The first mention of the Japanese district of Dilao we find in the Chronicle of the Franciscan Order in 1585, but doubtless the district was established a year or two before, as in their history the fathers mention it as already built and under their spiritual charge. A considerable number of Japanese must have been at various times left behind by the trading vessels from Japan. From a paragraph in the Jesuit Father Chirino's history published in 1604 (Father Chirino was in Manila from 1590 to 1602) it would appear that the Japanese before they were confined to the district of Dilao lived in the Chinese district. The paragraph is as follows:

"The Chinese, Japanese, Malucos and Bisayans have established in this city near our house a quarter of their own, which at that time was in charge of the Society; and our Fathers administered the Sacraments to them and their families including their women and servants."

We see, however, that on the establishment of the District of Dilao, the spiritual charge was, for some reason not explained in the chronicle of the Franciscan Fathers, refused by the Jesuits. It is probable that the Franciscans had already built a church in Dilao and established themselves there before there was any question of Japanese converts and their disposal. This would appear so because the first Japanese Christians mentioned as arriving in Manila are those who were in 1585 placed in charge of the Franciscans according to the account in their chronicle, which is as follows:—

“About this time, towards the end of 1585, the Order began to reap the first fruits of the seeds sown in Japan by Father Juan Pobre by his religious life. For it happened that a vessel of considerable size with many Japanese Christians on board sailing for Manila with horses, corn, flour and other commodities for trade in these islands was shipwrecked on the coast of Cagayan in a furious storm; and of all the rest remaining there, only ten arrived in Manila with the news of their misfortune and asking assistance.”

The Chronicle continues to relate that the Governor, Santiago de Vera, ordered help to be sent. The rest of the Christians were brought to Manila and were at first placed in the Chinese *parian* (district), but being Christians they were afterwards at the request of the Franciscan Fathers moved to Dilao and left in their charge. These facts would go to prove that Dilao was not originally placed apart for the Japanese, but as indeed is mentioned elsewhere in the Franciscan Chronicle, their convent in Dilao was founded by that order for the conversion of heathen natives (*infieles naturales*). Since the establishment in Dilao of the above-mentioned Japanese Christians the whole district was then given up to the Japanese. Morga's account of Dilao is as follows:—

“There are generally some Japanese, both Christian and infidel, in Manila. These are left by the vessels from Japan.

They have their special settlement and location outside the city between the Sangley Parian and the suburb of Lagnio, near the monastery of La Candelaria. There they are directed by religious of S. Francis by means of interpreters whom the Fathers keep for the purpose. They are a spirited race, of good disposition and brave. They wear their own costume, namely, kimonos of coloured silks and cotton, reaching halfway down the leg and open in front; wide short drawers, close fitting half-boots of leather, and shoes like sandals with the soles of well-woven straw. They go bare-headed and shave the top of the head as far back as the crown. Their back hair is long and fastened upon the skull in a graceful knot. They carry their catans large and small in the belt. They have scant beards and are a race of noble bearing and behaviour. They employ many ceremonies and courtesies and attach much importance to honour and social standing. They are resolute in any necessity or danger.

Those who become Christians prove very good and are very devout and observant in their religion for only the desire of salvation incites them to adopt our religion, so that there are many Christians in Japan. Accordingly they return freely and without opposition to their own country. At the most there are about 500 Japanese in Manila for they do not go to other parts of the Islands; consequently very few of them usually remain in the Islands. They are treated very cordially as they are a race that demand good treatment, and it is advisable to do so for the friendly relations between the Islands and Japan."

This account of Morga who was in Manila from 1595-1603 and whose work was published in 1609 is very interesting but in some points difficult to reconcile with the facts mentioned by Foreman. For instance he states that they do not go to other parts of the Islands, whilst Foreman has it that the Japanese were spread over Laguna and Pangasinan and had a settlement at Taal adding that the present Tagalogs are partly descended from Japanese. It is more than probable that the presence of the Japanese

in Cagayan in the early years of Spanish occupation and which is undeniable, alarmed the Spanish authorities to such an extent that they drove out the Japanese as far as possible from the provinces and only permitted them to remain in Manila, in their own district, where they could be kept under observation.

We have seen that several Christian Japanese arrived from Japan in 1585. In 1587 another vessel arrived with others headed by one Gabriel. The arrival of Gabriel and his companions, whom he himself converted en route, is chronicled by both Father Chirino and Father Colin in their respective histories. A special service was held in the church of the Jesuits, the Bishop Salazar himself assisting at their baptism. In reference to the arrival of these Japanese Christians I would mention the existence in the National Library of Madrid of a letter signed by Bishop Salazar (Salazar became Bishop in 1581), and also by Gabriel and his companions containing a very interesting description of Japan together with a rough map made by the Japanese themselves, who added the names of the provinces in Japanese and in the map inserted the names of the provinces in "kana." Their own names, too, are signed in Japanese. From the foregoing then we conclude that the Spanish, after asserting their authority, permitted the yearly trading vessels from Japan to continue and to leave behind Japanese who, together with those Japanese Christians mentioned above, dwelt in Dilao where they were under the charge of the Franciscan Fathers. In the year 1690, the date of Governor General Pedro Gomez's administration, we find according to an account in Morga that the relations between the Spanish and Japanese were becoming strained. Morga writes as follows:—

"During Gomez Perez's administration the relations and peace existing between the Japanese and Spanish began to become strained; for hitherto Japanese vessels had gone from the port of Nangasaqui to Manila for some years laden with their flour and other goods, where they had been kindly received and despatched."

On the part of the Japanese, no doubt, they found the restrictions which the Spanish were forced to put on them, irksome. The Spanish, learning more and more from the frequent visits of the Japanese of the might of Japan, where at the time Hideyoshi was at the height of his power, were greatly alarmed for the safety of Manila and were inclined rather to tighten than loosen the restrictions. Moreover as we learn from one of the reasons put forward by a Council, summoned in Manila in 1630, against an indemnity to be given to the Japanese for the destruction of a Japanese vessel by the Spanish in Siam, the piratical expeditions to the north of Cagayan had by no means ceased with the repulse in 1582 of Taifusa, but such expeditions had often come down and interfered with the natives and vessels trading to Manila. All this naturally caused the Spaniards considerable anxiety and compelled them to regulate the comings and goings of the Japanese with great rigour.

News of the doings in Manila was of course carried to Hideyoshi by the trading vessels and doubtless he was well informed of the efforts of the Spanish to check the Japanese. One Japanese, Harada Quiemon, who had already been in Manila, repeatedly urged on Hideyoshi the necessity of attacking Manila. Hideyoshi himself too, was perhaps glad to find an occupation for his troops and accordingly in 1592 he despatched Harada with a letter to Gomez demanding the submission of the Philippines to his suzerainty. The reason given for demanding this submission was doubtless based on the former activity of his nationals in the Islands, their defeat in the Cagayan River and subsequent gradual expulsion. For more recent causes he had only to complain of the treatment of the Japanese in their quarter in Manila and the edicts of Gomez.

The arrival of Harada as Ambassador from Japan caused the Spaniards no little alarm. Rumours of the might of Hideyoshi and his foreign wars had filtered down to the Philippines and they knew the warning was not one to be disregarded. At any moment a fleet from Japan might deliver an overwhelming attack. The Spanish were at

this time also involved in a quarrel with the Portuguese at Macao besides being occupied with the preparation of an expedition to Siam and Cochin China. There remained only one course to take. The Lord of Japan must be pacified and put off. Accordingly the Governor addressed a reply to Hideyoshi setting forth the might and power of his sovereign Philip the Second and stating that although his instructions prohibited him from acknowledging any claim of suzerainty he was most willing and desirous of opening up trade with Japan. The reply was sent by Father Juan Cobo, but the vessel carrying the embassy was wrecked in Formosa.

The Spanish after despatching their reply made every effort to put the city in a state of defence and to get rid of the Japanese. Some were persuaded to accompany the expedition to Cambodia and Cochin China in 1595. Others were returned in the ambassador's vessels to Japan. The number of Japanese in Manila at this time must have been fairly large. We have no exact figures, but the following extracts give an idea. A witness in Manila writes in 1593, "As I understand, there are three hundred or more Japanese here and one hundred and fifty came in the Ambassador's ship." Another witness says, "that two other vessels are about to come here (to Manila) now. Before the coming of the Japanese this year (i.e. Harada) there were four hundred Japanese here. These two vessels have brought almost three hundred and another three hundred will come in the ships that are coming. Therefore much caution must be employed."

In the meantime whilst the Spanish were preparing in Manila, Hideyoshi had decided on the expulsion of the friars from Japan and in 1596, most of them were crucified at Nagasaki. In the same year occurred the wreck of the galleon *San Felipe* and its confiscation by Hideyoshi. News of both these occurrences arrived in Manila in the following year 1597, and the Governor, Don Francisco Tello, determined to send another embassy to Japan asking for the bodies of the martyrs and compensation for the loss of the "*San*

Felipe." At the same time an offer to open permanent trade relations was to be made. The ambassadors were Don Luis Navarrete Fajardo and Diego de Sousa, a Portuguese gentleman. Many rich presents accompanied the embassy including an elephant. Don Luis arrived at Hirado in August 1597. Hideyoshi was well pleased with the embassy, especially with the elephant, which he came out to see in the courtyard. The chronicle relates that on the appearance of Taikosama the elephant went down on its knees three times and trumpeted loudly. Hideyoshi in his reply excused the confiscation of the "San Felipe" citing the laws of his kingdom that all wrecks and their contents belonged to the Lord of Japan. As for the friars he explained that they had done much harm in his country, teaching the people false doctrines and he asked that no more be sent. Finally he promised a continuance of commerce and arranged for the shipment of the bodies of the martyrs.

During the stay of the embassy in Kyoto the same Harada who came to Manila as ambassador still urged on Hideyoshi the necessity of attacking Manila. Consequently the embassy, though in a measure successful in recovering the martyrs, left a doubt in the minds of the Spaniards as to Hideyoshi's real intentions. Don Luis himself died in Nagasaki but the remainder of the embassy returned safely to Manila with the bodies of the martyrs, where they were received in solemn state and a special service was held in their honour in the Jesuit church. The Spanish continued their preparations to meet the invasion, which it was feared Harada would persuade Hideyoshi to make. Morga writes as follows:—

"Trusting to time for the remedy, they so disposed affairs in Manila that they might be ready for any future emergency. They sent the Japanese who had settled in Manila—and they were not few—back to Japan and made those who came in merchant ships give up their weapons until their return, which they endeavoured to hasten as much as possible, but in other respects they treated them hospitably."

Also, as in a letter written to Manila by the martyred friars before their execution, it was stated that Taikosama intended to occupy Formosa as a means to conquer the Philippines, ships, under Don Juan de Camuzis, were sent to reconnoitre that Island in order to be the first in the field. Finally an embassy left Manila in 1598 to the Viceroy of Canton and Chinchee to warn them of Hideyoshi's intentions and suggesting that they should combine with the Spanish to avert the common danger. Nothing, however, came of the embassy and in the same year Hideyoshi died, thus removing the danger of any immediate attack. How near this attack came to be a reality we learn from the Chronicle of the Franciscan Order, which relates that in 1597 Harada was actually appointed to the command of an expedition but that the expedition never came to a head through the incompetency of Harada himself.

For the next two or three years we find no special mention of Japanese affairs. From the large number of Japanese mentioned as in Manila in 1603 we can conclude that the trading vessels from Nagasaki continued their visits and that many Japanese remained behind. In 1600 an earthquake was felt in Manila destroying the Cathedral and the Jesuit Church. In the following year a still more violent earthquake practically destroyed the town. In 1603 or 1604 (some authors say 1603 others 1604) occurred the first uprising of the Chinese or Sangleyes as they were called by the Spanish. This uprising was only put down with the assistance of the Japanese who numbered some eight hundred. This is not the only instance of the Japanese and Spaniards fighting side by side. Japanese were included in the expedition of Desmatinas to the Moluccas and also assisted the Spanish in Cambodia in 1603 where the Spanish expedition came near to being annihilated and was only saved by the arrival of Japanese vessels from Japan. In 1605 the Spanish again began to put restrictions on the Japanese residents in Dilao. As will be seen from the following extract from the "Laws regarding Sangleyes," dated

Madrid 1606, the number of Japanese had reached alarming proportions.

"It is advisable for the security of the city of Manila that the number of the Chinese do not exceed 6,000. Likewise it is advisable that there should not be so many Japanese in that city for they already exceed 3,000 etc."

In 1606 a Japanese rebellion broke out. The Governor was away on an expedition to the Moluccas and the city was therefore but scantily defended. By the assistance of the priests the Japanese were pacified. Morga relates that the Japanese were enraged at the attempt of the Council which governed during the Governor's absence to embark them and send them away. Father Concepcion has it that the immediate commencement of the fight was a quarrel between a Japanese and a Spaniard. The latter finally struck the Japanese and immediately the supporters of both took to arms. A priest succeeded in quieting the Japanese and the Spanish withdrew into the city. On the next day the Japanese seeing the preparations and artillery of the Spanish agreed to give up their arms. During that night, however, a house in the Japanese quarter caught fire and the Japanese immediately accused the Spanish of disarming them with the intention of burning their district. A Jesuit again managed to quiet the Japanese. The danger to the city must have been great and had the Japanese attacked on the previous day it is possible that Manila would have been sacked. In the next year 1607 the Japanese again rebelled. But this time the Governor had returned and the Spanish attacked them in their quarter, defeated them and burned the district. Many were embarked on vessels and sent back to Japan, and the Japanese, says Concepcion, were forbidden to reside in Manila. This prohibition could never have been enforced as in the ensuing year we have frequent mention of them and their quarter of Dilao.

In the meanwhile Iyeyasu Tokugawa, known to the Spanish as Daifusama, had risen to power in Japan. In 1602 Iyeyasu despatched an embassy to Manila for the purpose of opening up trade. Among other things he requests that

carpenters might be sent to teach shipbuilding and others ports in the Kwanto for the facility of Spanish vessels. Now, hitherto, the great security of the Spanish in Manila had rested largely on the ignorance of the Japanese in shipbuilding. The Governor therefore sent an evasive reply promising the despatch of a vessel to trade, but refusing the loan of carpenters unless sanctioned by the Viceroy of Mexico. At the same time a letter was sent to Fra Geronimo de Jesus, who was at Iyeyasu's court and who had been instrumental in the despatch of the Japanese embassy, warning him not to promise such facilities to Iyeyasu. The Japanese Ambassador Chikugo to whom the reply was entrusted was wrecked in Formosa and Iyeyasu becoming impatient at his non-arrival despatched Fra Geronimo de Jesus himself to Manila. The Spanish Governor renewed his promise of a yearly ship to the Kwanto and in 1603 Father Geronimo sailed in the "Santiago el Menor" with a cargo of redwood, deerskins, raw silk etc., for the Kwanto. Owing to stress of weather the vessel was forced to put into Hirado whence messages and presents were sent to Iyeyasu explaining the occurrence. At about the same time, encouraged by the report of Geronimo, more priests set out for Japan in the Japanese vessels lying in the harbour, which, Morga tells us, continued to arrive from Nagasaki with flour. In 1602 the galleon "Espiritu Santo" from Mexico to Manila was forced into Hirado whence she escaped with great difficulty. Complaints were made and Iyeyasu in the hope of resuming trade relations between Manila and the Kwanto, had the offenders punished.

The arrival of further missionaries in Japan caused Iyeyasu in 1605 to send another letter to Don Pedro de Acuña the Governor, requesting him to forbid them to depart and again stating his desire for trade and complaining of the non-appearance of a vessel in the Kwanto. The following extract from a report from the Council of the Indies, presented to the King of Spain, dated Madrid, 31st of March 1607, throws light on the apparently halfhearted attempts

of the Spanish to open a real trade and their attitude towards Iyeyasu.

"In those Islands (Philippines) it appears of the greatest importance that this commerce (with Japan) be introduced and preserved, because, besides the provision of the aforesaid goods, it is well to keep the King of Japan friendly by this means. For if it were not so he would be the greatest enemy that could be feared on account of the number and size of his dominions and the valour of the people therein, who are beyond comparison the bravest in all India as has been experienced in the aforesaid Islands sometimes, with pirates who have overrun the coast, doing great harm and hindering the commerce of other nations."

This would show that the Spanish only maintained a semblance of trade to please Iyeyasu and indeed from a long argument laid before the King of Spain some few years later, in 1619, it is clear that the direct trade between Japan and the Philippines was by no means profitable to the Spanish. In 1609 Philip the Third published "The Laws regarding Navigation and Commerce," Law 2 of which runs:—

"The trade, commerce, and navigation from the Philippines to Japan shall be made by the citizens of the former Islands and the Japanese shall not be allowed to go to the Islands."

The object of this was no doubt to reduce the numbers of Japanese in Manila, who, in spite of the prohibition issued against their residence in 1607, still came and settled in Dilab in large numbers. Fernando de los Rios Coronel in a report in 1619 urging reforms in the Philippines mentions that "already 2,000 Japanese reside in Manila, which is thus endangered." In a certain measure also the refusal to allow Japanese to trade to Manila would please Iyeyasu, as he, in his letter of 1605, had protested against the residence of his subjects in Manila.

In 1611 Iyeyasu, perceiving that the Spanish did not intend to supply his wants and alarmed at the increasing number of priests in Japan and the consequent rapid spread

of Christianity, ordered the eviction of all missionaries from Japan and the suppression and expulsion of all Christians unless they changed their faith. The period from 1611 in Japan is one of continual persecution of the Christians, many of whom, however, came down to the Philippines. In 1614 a vessel arrived at Manila from Nagasaki with some three hundred Japanese Christians including Don Justo Takayama, called Ueandono and several Japanese fathers. All were well received by the Spanish and lodged in the city. Father Colin has left us a detailed account of Takayama's life. Takayama was of great assistance to the fathers in the early days of Christianity in Japan, but afterwards he fell into disgrace with both Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu. Consequently he was banished in 1614 to Manila with all his family. He died in 1615 and was buried in the Jesuit Church at San Miguel. With Takayama had come several Japanese ladies, also Christians, who were lodged in San Miguel. They died at various dates, the last in 1655, being buried with others in the San Miguel Church. Father Colin relates that the Japanese in Manila among whom all had worked attended her funeral in large numbers. This proves that although in 1640, the Japanese were banished officially they did not cease to arrive and live in Manila.

From 1614 the Japanese Christians evicted from Japan continued to arrive in small numbers and all were received by the Spanish and settled outside the city walls. In that year, too, Silva, the Governor, formed a new expedition to the Moluccas of which, he mentions, the Japanese from Manila formed a third of his forces. The parishes where these Japanese were lodged are mentioned by Archbishop Serrano in 1621 in his report to the King of Spain, which runs:—

"In the parochial church of Santiago and in the villages of Dilao and San Miguel, which are suburbs of Manila and in the port of Cavite, most of the Japanese in these Islands are instructed. Some of them are married, and although, because they are a people who go to and from their own

country they have no fixed number, at present there are more than fifteen hundred Christians."

Further on in his report Serrano speaks of a hospital under the care of the order of St. Francis at 500 paces from the walls of Manila, where from 100 to 150 sick were cared for. This hospital was doubtless for Japanese as the hospital for Chinese in Binondo was founded by Benavides in 1587 and placed in charge of the Dominicans.

The above proves that in spite of the apparently strained relations between the Spanish and Iyeyasu, Japanese continued to pass to and fro between Nagasaki and Manila. The Spanish, as seen by various letters in 1621 from the Governor to the King, still feared Japanese invasions. In the same year an attempt was made by Don Fernando de Silva to reopen official relations with Iyeyasu. The negotiations, however, fell through. Silva himself was then sent to help the Portuguese in Macao against the Dutch, who together with the English had begun to menace both Macao and the Philippines. This expedition, which also included Japanese, touched at Siam where it was overpowered and Silva was killed. In the same year, alarmed by the danger from both the Dutch and English and the large number of Japanese who, says Serrano, then numbered 3,000 and were in the habit of giving information to the English and Dutch, the Governor of the Philippines, Don Alonso Fajardo de Tenca, expelled many Japanese. It was also in 1621 that the Spanish began to think seriously of occupying Formosa to guard, says Fajardo, in a letter in December of that year, the Japanese trade, which was menaced by English and Dutch vessels which fitted out in southern ports of Japan. In 1625 the "Alcalde Major" of Cagayan was ordered to arm two galleys and other boats, to proceed to Formosa and to fortify himself in Tamsui, which is nearest to Cagayan. This move was to protect the Islands against the Dutch, who had already settled in Tainan, opposite to Tanchuy, with the avowed purpose of mastering the Chinese commerce. In 1626 the Spanish found it necessary to send a larger force to occupy Formosa to protect their Chinese and

Japanese trade. The Spanish were in Formosa from 1626-1642. It is interesting to note from documents in the possession of the Dominicans in Manila, that much Christian work was done in Formosa by Japanese priests from Manila. One, by name Tomas Naqui, made an expedition to the Loochoos. In 1629 the Dutch attempted to drive out the Spanish, but were defeated. Their final effort, however, in 1642, was successful. The loss of Formosa was felt keenly by the Spanish, as by their occupation they had, as expected, obtained a large share of the Chinese and Japanese trade with Macao. In connection with this occupation of Formosa many similar words in that island and Luzon are to be noted. Aparri in Luzon, Taparri in Formosa, Talibong in Luzon, Alibon in Formosa, Biscaya and Basay, Palawan and Palcan.

In 1628 during a visit of the Spanish to Siam, a Japanese vessel also put in and was for some reason attacked and burnt by the Spanish. The Spanish in 1629 sent to Nagasaki offering reparation for the deed, if the Japanese would open a regular traffic again. No reply was received and it was determined, in a council held in Manila, to do nothing further. The council gave as their reasons for offering no further reparation the following:—

“Thus it is believed that these Islands have an especial reason to consider themselves aggrieved by Japan. 1st. Because the Japanese have prohibited commerce without other reason than the faith, and that with so great severity that a ship which sailed secretly from the districts of Arima and Omura for these Islands having put back and the Japanese ascertaining whither it was bound, the loss of many lives and the most cruel injuries to the Christian people there resulted. 2nd. Because the Japanese refused to receive the ambassadors who were sent from here in order to bring about peace and harmony between these kingdoms. 3rd. Because of the old time robberies which were made in the time of Taicosama and by his order, of the goods of the galleon “San Felipe” which put in at their coasts because of bad weather—the Japanese martyring on that oc-

casion the religious of St. Francis who protested against the injustice; and Taico declaring war against these Islands in the endeavour to make them tributary, and for some years sending a number of ships to infest as they did, these coasts, and although peace was made afterward in the time of Daifu and commerce was reopened, still they never gave satisfaction for the wrong committed, nor did we obtain damages for it. Consequently as soon as the peace was broken, on account of Daifu, and because they deprived us of commerce with them, it appears that they again renewed the past insults and that they are vigorously demanding their right of procuring redress. 4th. Because from the time when our ships put in at Japan and the Japanese had news of the richness of these Islands, they have always tried to conquer them, by endeavouring to get a foothold on the Island of Formosa, in order to make it a way-station for the conquest of Luzon. That has caused the Governor of the Philippines to make great expenditures and vast preparations during the past few years; and but recently it is learned that discussions of this kind are rife in Japan and that their reason for not doing it (i.e. conquering the Islands), is not the lack of malice, but of power."

The Spanish at this time, 1630, seem to have really expected an invasion. The Portuguese, too, in Macao were afraid of the Japanese avenging their injury on them by interfering with their commerce and accordingly they requested the Spanish in Manila to make good the loss of the above-mentioned vessel to the Japanese. This we see the Spanish refused to do unless the Japanese opened commerce with Manila and gave satisfaction for old wrongs. In 1630, says Father Concepcion, two Japanese vessels arrived in Manila, one from the Governor of Nagasaki and the other from the King of Satsuma. Their object was to spy out the city of Manila with the idea of vengeance for the loss of the Japanese vessels in the river of Siam. They were well received in Manila and at their public reception a grand military display was made in order to impress them with the futility of attempting the conquest of Manila.

The Spanish evidently succeeded in their object, for the Japanese made no attempt against Manila and in the following year, 1631, two vessels arrived to trade. In them came the famous batch of lepers. It appears that Iyeyasu realised that the further persecution of the Christians, far from diminishing their numbers, only increased them by converts made through admiration of the manner in which the Christians bore their sufferings. Accordingly in spite of the advice of the Dutch, he gave orders to ship all Christians who refused to change their faith out of the country. No doubt in sending a batch of lepers to Manila, Iyeyasu thought to embarrass the Spanish and hoped that if they refused to receive them, Christianity would receive a severe check. The Spanish did not, however, fall into the trap, but received them as is shown by the following extract from the report of Don Juan Nino de Tavora, the Governor General at that time, dated July 1632.

"Two ships came last year (i.e. from Japan), to trade with this city of Manila. In those ships were sent 130 poor lepers exiled to these Islands, whom the heathen tried to make renegades to the faith of Christ (as many others have become); but their entreaties had no effect on these people. I called a council of state to determine whether these lepers should be received and in what manner they should be received. It was not because I hesitated to receive them; for even though they might fasten the disease on me, I would not dare to leave an apparent Christian in the sight of so many opposed to the faith, and in the face of the persecution which has been raging in that kingdom. It was determined that they should be received immediately and taken straight to the church; and that they should be welcomed, entertained and supported with the alms which this community desired to apportion. A beginning has been made in collecting alms and a room has been arranged in the hospital of the natives where they are to be put."

A Dominican father writes on the same subject:—

"They sent in these ships a hundred or more Christian lepers, who whatever they did with them, would not abandon the faith; and in order not to stain their catans, as they said, with such people, they left them alive and exiled them to the Philippines. Here they were kindly received—as was required by Christian piety and by the cause for which they had been exiled—without considering the affront which the Japanese thought to put on us by sending the dregs of that kingdom."

In 1632 another vessel arrived bringing further Japanese including their wives and children and again in 1685 mention is made of the arrival of a large number of rich converted Japanese who had fled from the fierce persecutions to which the Christians had been subjected in Japan. All these the Spanish received and permitted to dwell in Manila, either in San Miguel or Dilao. In 1640 further intercourse with Japan was prohibited by the King of Spain. Nevertheless several friars at different periods made efforts to penetrate the country; notably in 1677 by Fathers Francisco de Juan and Alvaro de Joseph both of whom were killed by the Chinese who offered to take them. In 1712 a Japanese father applied officially to the Governor of Nagasaki for permission to enter but was informed that the edicts were still in force. A matter of interest is the establishment in 1622 in Manila by the Misericordia of a school to teach children of the Japanese and Chinese.

In connection with the residence of Japanese in Manila the following cases in the courts throw light on their relations with the Spanish and their traffic in the Islands. In 1616 a case was tried in the High Court (Real Audiencia) against General Don Francisco de la Serua for excessive expenses on a voyage from Mexico (Nueva España) to Manila. The case has its interest because it mentions that the vessel called at Satsuma. In 1625 General Andres Perez Franco is proceeded against for exacting one real a month from Japanese shops in Cavite, of which he was Governor. In another case in 1627 reference is made to Capt. Juan Spion, Governor of the Japanese. From this

it would appear that the Japanese as well as the Chinese had their own special governor who was responsible for them and their behaviour. In 1628 the High Court hears an appeal from the court of the province of Pampanga. Pedro Leon, a Japanese, proceeds against Miguel de Sosa for ill-treatment of his wife Maria Cosia. This is an indication that the Japanese, if not legally so, were nevertheless at times resident in the provinces. That they were prohibited is clear from the case in 1632, in which the Alcalde Major of La Laguna is cited as sending despatches to Manila without payment by the hand of a Japanese who came daily from the Lake of Laguna to Manila. Instructions are sent to him that the Japanese, Christians or otherwise, are prohibited by law from going to native villages. In 1633 we learn that a Japanese vessel was in the Bay of Manila from a case brought against the Captain. In 1636 a case was made out against the Alcalde Major of Cagayan for illegal trading and seizure of goods from Chinese and Japanese ships visiting the Cagayan coast.

As stated before, trade between Japan and the Philippines was forbidden in 1640, and no effort seems to have been made by the Spanish themselves to carry it on. Japanese, however, occasionally arrived in Manila from shipwrecks, which would tend to show that their vessels came down to the Philippines, if not to Manila. Father Concepcion relates how fifteen shipwrecked Japanese arrived in 1763 and were taken charge of in Dilao by the Franciscans. The Franciscans obtained from the Government help towards their support, citing in their petition that help had been given in similar cases in 1693 and 1706. The same writer mentions the case of Don Juan Castaneda Couraimo, a Japanese, who, with his companions was assisted by the Government until 1752 when the last of them, Vicente Pimental, died.

The next question to consider is: What remains of this residence and trade of the Japanese are there to-day? Foreman suggests that the Tagalogs are descendants and it may be that they have Japanese blood. Father Malumbres has it that the Ilongotes have Japanese ancestors. Foreman

also mentions a Japanese temple as having existed, but I have been unable to find any mention of it and it seems unlikely that the Spanish, with the friars so powerful, would have permitted it. As regards tombs, we know that Takayama and his companions as they died were buried in the Jesuit Church in San Miguel. This church was destroyed and I am informed that, when the Jesuits built their present church, many of the bodies found beneath the ruins of the former, were transferred to the crypt of the present edifice, and it may be, therefore, that Japanese remains were brought with them. The Japanese fathers were probably buried in the churches of the orders to which they belonged. The Japanese nuns of San Miguel appear to have been buried in the parish church of that village. The last died in 1656. The relics of the martyred Japanese Fathers are preserved in the Franciscan Convent.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SWEET POTATO INTO THE FAR EAST

By Dr. Edmund Simon—Nagasaki

The problem whether the sweet potato which is known not only in America, but is also widely distributed in the Far East and the South-Sea Islands is of American origin or not has not yet been wholly solved. The *Encyclopædia Britannica*¹ says in regard to this question: "The plant is not known in a truly wild state, nor has its origin been ascertained. A. de Candolle concludes that it is in all probability of American origin, though dispersed in Japan, China, the South Sea Islands, Australia, etc.; its migrations are only explained by him on geological grounds of an entirely hypothetical character." The following paper will bring more light on the question and may be able to confute the theory proposed by A. de Candolle. It may be mentioned in this connection that Prof. B. H. Chamberlain has already pointed out that the plant in question is not indigenous to Japan but has been introduced from China, the Loochoo Islands acting as mediators.²

This plant now cultivated over nearly all the Far East was introduced to China only about three hundred and twenty years ago and to Japan about two hundred and forty years ago after a long migration starting probably from the middle part of the Western hemisphere. If the undeveloped means of communications prevailing in the beginning of the 17th Century be taken into consideration the rapid spread seems astonishing.

1. Ninth Edition, Vol. XIX see under: Potato.

2. The Luchu Islands and its Inhabitants. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. V. p. 301.

The names given to the plant by the Chinese and the Japanese prove clearly the fact, that it is not an indigenous product of either country. The former call this kind of potato (*batatis edulis*) expressly "fan-shu" (番薯) meaning "foreign tuber," the latter call it "Rinkiu-imo" (琉球芋) in the southern parts of Kinshu, or "Satsuma-imo" in the middle of Japan. In Rinkiu, the archipelago forming a long chain of islands from Kinshiu to Formosa, the name "Kara-imo" (唐芋) or in the Okinawa dialect "Kara-mmu"—Chinese potato—prevails. Analyzing these different designations we can already discover some of the paths which the plant has followed in its migrations.

However, before turning to this subject we may first try to ascertain the country where the plant originated.³ The name "Batata" points to the West-Indies as the word is said to be of Haytian origin.⁴ From this we may assume that the plant originally came from the middle and southern parts of America, just as the ordinary potato (*solanum*) came from the Andes.⁵ The islands of Cuba and Hayti were discovered on the first voyage to America by Christopher Columbus and it is not unlikely that the sweet potato was introduced to Spain by the discoverers about the end of the 15th Century. According to Chisholm⁶ the Batata seems to have been known even in England in 1560. The Century Dictionary states that the word potato is generally to be understood in the sense of sweet potato when used by English writers down to the middle of the seventeenth century. Gerarde in a book (*Herball*) published in 1636 writes: "Clausius calleth it Batata, Camotes, Amotes, and Ignames:

3. An Analysis of the Sweet Potato by B. W. Dware was published in Vol. VI p. 349 of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

4. Standard Dictionary of the English Language 1906 (Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York and London); The Century Dictionary pub. by The Times, London: "Haytian batata, the native name of the sweet potato."

5. *ibid.*, "is a native of the Andes, particularly in Chili and Peru to New Mexico."

6. Handbook of Commercial Geography 1904, p. 81.

in *English Potatoes, Potatus and Patades*.⁷ From this sentence it is clear that the Spaniards introduced the plant to Europe, as *Camotes* is the Spanish name for the sweet potato.

The Philippine Islands were probably the first country in the Far East into which the batata was imported. These islands were discovered in 1521 by Magalhães, a Portuguese subject engaged in Spanish service, on his famous cruise around the world (1519-22). The Spaniards settled down in Luzon, according to the Chinese Ming Annals (Ch. 323, P. XI), about the commencement of the Wan-li period (1573)⁸ or as the Spanish accounts state more correctly in 1571. The Spaniards established a flourishing trade with the Chinese port Hai-cheng, the inhabitants of which sent their junks to Manila.⁹ The bulk of Chinese merchandise, the chief articles of which consisted of silk, pottery, and metal-wares, was transhipped to the ports of New Spain and Peru, and these places became large markets for Chinese manufactures—a trade which was a source of immense profit to China.¹⁰ We find mention in a Japanese record, as will be seen later, of the sweet potato being cultivated in Luzon at this time and it is something more than mere assumption to say that the Spaniards introduced this plant to the Philippine Islands finding the subtropical climate and the fertile soil suitable for its cultivation. This assumption seems to me all the more credible because (it is at the same time well established that) at the same time the Spaniards introduced a number of useful plants from the East into Mexico probably by way

7. Also the solanum "was probably first introduced into Europe from the region of Quito by the Spaniards, about the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1586 it was brought to England from Virginia, where, however, it was probably derived from a Spanish source." (*Century Dictionary*).

8. B. Laufer, *The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands*. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections (Quarterly Issue) Vol. 50, Part 2, p. 258.

9. *Ibid.* p. 277.

10. *I.e.*

of the Philippines.¹¹ Why should they not have brought over from America plants fit for cultivation in the newly acquired territory? Since Spanish records of the time are not at my disposal, it is impossible of course to prove exactly the actual truth of the presumption and I must leave it to be made certain by further investigations. Although not acquainted with the native language of Luzon I was informed by a friend who has been there for a couple of years and understands the language that there is no native term given to the sweet potato, but that they use the Spanish expression "Camote," another strong proof in favour of the Spaniards being the means of introducing the sweet potato.

We may now leave the uncertain grounds of hypothesis and turn to the history of the introduction of the sweet potato to China. In volume IV. of the *Okinawa-shi* (沖縄志), a work compiled by T. Ichiji (伊地知貞吉), a Japanese author, in the 10th year of Meiji (1878), we find a passage, presumably taken from a Chinese source, running as follows:¹² "The 'foreign potato' was a product of the main island, Luzon. The islanders were forbidden to export the seeds to foreign countries." From this statement it is clear the Spaniards were of opinion that the sweet potato was a very valuable and rare plant at this time and that they tried to monopolise the culture in order to retain a lucrative trade in the potato. Had it been an indigenous product of the Philippine Islands, the Chinese who had already settled there before the arrival of the Spaniards¹³ would have introduced the useful plant to China at an earlier time. On this point the *Okinawa-shi* states expressly that the sweet potato was introduced to China in 1594, that is twenty-three years after the Spaniards had settled in Luzon, and then only by means of a fraud. "A man from Chin-an"¹⁴ of the Ming Empire, called Chen

11. *ibid.* p. 281. The quoted paper by Dr. Walter Hough "Oriental Influences in Mexico" (*American Anthropologist*, 1900, pp. 66-74) was inaccessible for me.

12. p. 23 b: 蕃薯ハ本島宋島ノ産ナリ島人其種ヲ外ニ出スナシ

13. Laufer, *ibid.* pp. 257/58.

14. A place in Feh-kien province, Ch'uan-chou prefecture.

Chen-lung had been living a long time in Luzon engaged in commerce. Having bribed the natives he succeeded in getting the seeds and planted them after his return home in the 22nd year of Wanli (1594). This was the first time that the foreign potato was planted in China."¹⁵ A further reference helps to prove clearly that the sweet potato was unknown in Luzon before the arrival of the Spaniards. We find the potato not yet mentioned in a passage of the Ming Shih (Ch. 323 P. IIa) which speaks of the trade articles between China and the Philippine Islands. "The native articles traded were cotton, cotton goods, beeswax, cocoanut and fine mats."¹⁶ Therefore it seems without any doubt that the Spaniards first introduced the sweet potato to the Philippine Islands and that the Chinese did not know the plant previously as they would have if the plant were indigenous for the China-Philippine trade was in existence at an earlier date than the Spanish occupation.

On account of deficiency of material I am at present unable to trace step by step the gradual spreading of the potato from the southern areas of Fuh-kien over the whole of China. Let us turn now to the question of how the Batata was introduced into Japan and see how the Loochoo Islands played a very important part in it. Okinawa, the main island of the Loochoo, was at that time a small kingdom, (Chungshan (中山) paying tribute to both China and Japan. In Nafa (那覇) the principal port of the Islands, a flourishing trade was carried on which consisted principally of exchanging the products of the Middle Kingdom with those of Japan, i.e., the Nafa merchants were the intermediaries between these two countries.¹⁷ The daimyo Shimadzu Iehisa

15. 明國書安ノ人陳振祖ト云フ者貿易ヲ興トシ久シク呂宋ニ留ル候間料ヲ土人ニ啗ハレメ其理ヲ得テ還ル時ニ萬曆二十二年ナリ支那蕃薯ヲ種ル之ヲ始トス。 I have not yet been able to discover the source this extract is derived from, probably it is from a local history of the Fuh-kien province. I hope these lines will bring it to light.

16. Laufer, *ibid.* p. 252.

17. von Siebold, *Nippon, Archiv zur Beschreibung Japans*, 1897. Vol. II. p. 277.

having made war upon Okinawa in 1609, entirely subjugated the King Shō Nei (尚寧) and took him and the crown-prince away from Okinawa to Japan but released both and allowed them to go back to their own country expressing particularly the wish that they should put Japanese articles on the Chinese market in exchange for Chinese.¹⁸ The sweet potato naturally and easily followed when trading relations were regularly established.

The introduction of the Batata into the small Kingdom of Chungshan has been duly recorded by the native chroniclers because the tubers proved to be an excellent guard against the frequent famines there, making the people wealthy and enlarging the prosperity of the whole nation. The islands lying in the midst of the ocean are frequently visited by strong winds and typhoons, causing floods and often doing enormous damage to the crop. The Looshooan Nūgun (野國), or in Japanese pronunciation Nōguni, who held the post of a Sōkwan (L. dial. Sukwan 總管), an official courier, noticing the sweet potato on a tour in Fuh-kien recognised its value and brought the seeds to his country and planted them in his village. Masatsune (真常), another official, taking great interest in his enterprise, strongly supported him in spreading the potato over the country. Concerning this we read in a book entitled Nōguni Kafu (野國家譜), Genealogy of the Family of Nugun¹⁹:

"In the period of Wan-li he was appointed Sōkwan and went to the Min province (閩省). Having entirely fulfilled his official duties he returned in the thirty-third year of the same period (1605) having noted the foreign potato. Remembering that in his native country ever year typhoons arose doing damage to the five grains,²⁰ and thus making it impossible to prevent famine and dearth by which his countrymen were placed in anxiety, he took it with him on his return

18. *Ibid.* p. 279.

19. The text is quoted in "Gimma Masatsune to Nōguni Sōkwan," Okinawa Kyōiku Nr. 45, p. 32.

20. The Chinese understand under the five grains: Rice, millet, barley and wheat, beans, hemp.

and planted the seeds in Nūgun, Nūsatsu, Sunabi and other villages of the Chatten district. Further he taught the methods of its cultivation amongst the villagers and thus made the plant a substitute for the five grains. Afterwards Masatsune, the Wekata²¹ of Gimma (吉間 親方) from the Ma (馬) Clan, heard of it and asked for shoots and guidance for cultivation. Nūgun taught him the principles of cultivation. Masatsune following the instructions published them widely over the country. Such was the story of the introduction of the potato and certainly it was to Nūgun's credit."

Similar to this report is another one appearing in the *Gimma-uchi no Kifu*²²:

"In the thirty-third year of Wan-li the Sūkwan Nūgun brought on his return from China the earth-ball plants *Fan-shu*. Masatsune hearing this asked for them and inquired as to the practice of their culture. Nūgun answered: "Take the creepers, make wheel-shaped circles, and throw them into the soil for cultivation. When the time has arrived cut the shoots, and dig out the potatoes for use." Masatsune did so seven or eight years and then happened a year of great famine and scarcity. Masatsune was struck with the idea to extend the cultivation of the foreign potato through the whole country in order to use it as a substitute for the five grains, thus making the country as prosperous as others. He did so, tested the cultivation some years and at last cut the shoots and scattered them over the fields one to the square foot. Within fifteen years all the people in the country used it as a substitute for the five grains. This was due to the influence of Masatsune. By means of the foreign potato years of misfortune ceased. Thereafter were established sacrificial ceremonies at Akafira in Jimma and the people of Jimma were ordered to commemorate the gracious acts of the Sūkwan Nūgun. This is the patrimony of our family."

21. This term is explained in: Edmund Simon, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Rindja-Inseln*, Leipzig 1913, p. 156; compare also *ibid.* p. 97.

22. *Okinawa Kyōku* Nr. 46, p. 30.

The *Hiukiu-Koku-Kiu-ki* (琉球國書紀), a manuscript in possession of the former King, says²²:

"The Foreign Potato. There are different kinds, one with red skin and white tuber, another one with both skin and tuber white and another one with red skin and yellow tuber."²³

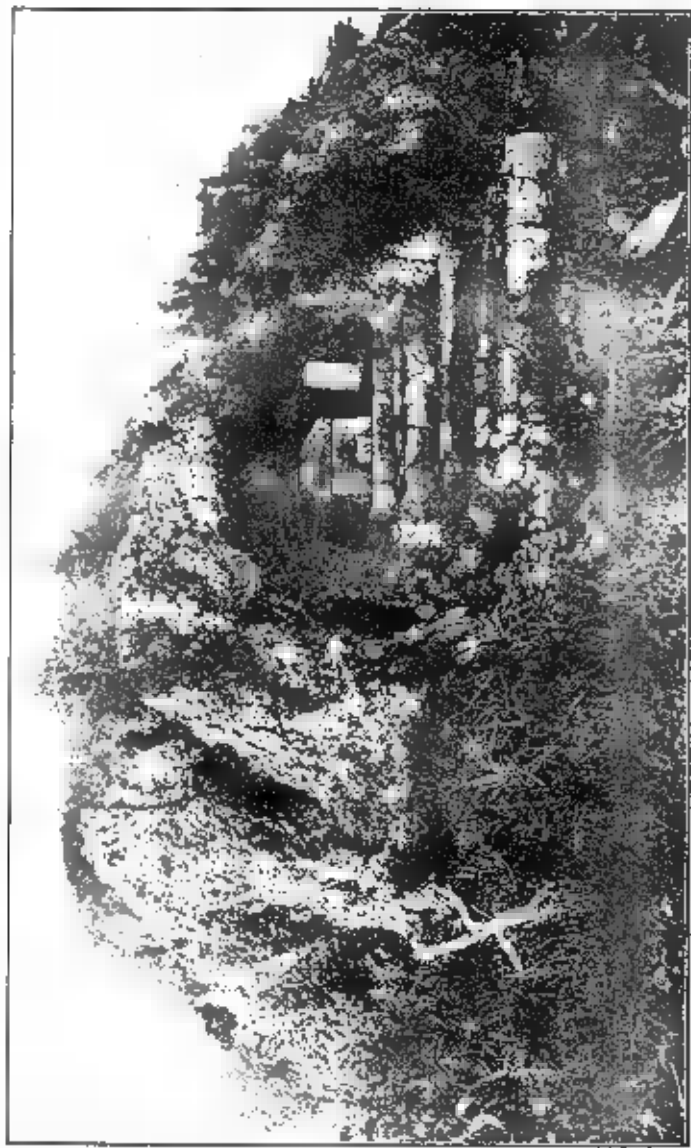
In the thirty-third year of Wan-li under the reign of King Shō Nei the Sūkwan Nūgun (a man from the village Nūgun) went personally to China and brought the potato back with him on his return. The Wākata Pēching of Jimma, Masatsune of the Ma Clan, hearing this asked for samples. Nūgun gave him some and told him: "You must thoroughly hoe the soil, prepare creepers of the potato, put them in the soil, and let them grow for several months, afterwards dig them out for eating." Masatsune followed his advice and the potato became flourishing. When years of misfortune or famine arose and the people suffered from great hunger, Masatsune distributed the potatoes over the country, making them a substitute for the five grains. Therefore the descendants of the Ma Clan up to the present sacrifice thankfully to Nūgun. The yellow foreign potato was introduced by a man in the thirty-third year of Kanghsi who had been in Fuk-kien, and who after his return distributed it in every place. But it is only a different kind. Even ice storm or snow does no harm to it; therefore, it is of great value."

On a trip to Okinawa I took the opportunity to visit the tomb of Nūgun. It is situated in the middle part of the island known as Nakagami (中名 in the *Chattan-magiri* 中名御前) not far away from the village Nūgun near the coast, where the rivulet Nūgun-kara flows into the sea. In the slope of a hill a cave is dug in the rocks, a few stone-steps lead to the vault. Under the roof formed by the rocks stands a coffin-shaped stone case with a roof-shaped

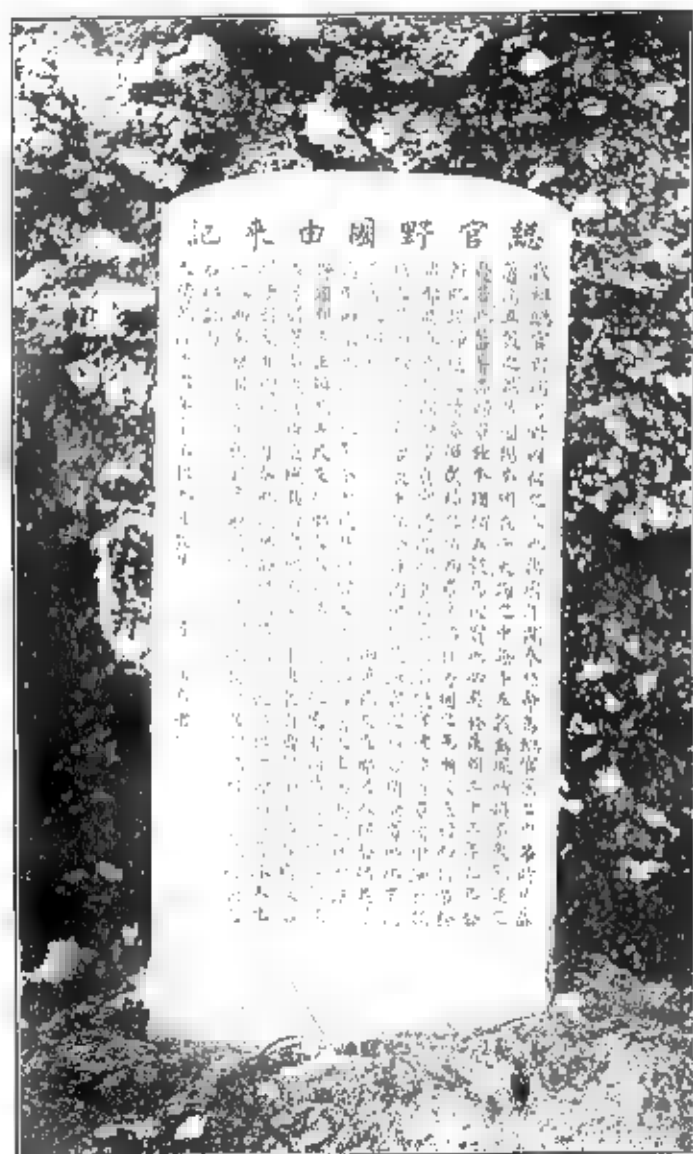
22. *Ibid.* p. 29, 30.

23. 赤皮白肉、白皮白肉、白皮黄肉、白皮黄肉。

24. The term "magiri" is equivalent to the Japanese "gun," meaning a district, or country.



The Tomb of Nōgun. Nakagamigun, Okinawa.



Tombstone of Nūgun. Nakagamigun, Okinawa.

cover, and in front of the case is put a stone incense burner or altar of oblong shape. On the right a stone monument with an inscription has been erected. The roofed stone case and the stone altar were built in the thirty-ninth year of Kanghsi (1700) by a Chito (地頭), an official from the Shō (掌)-Clan by name Masatsune who spent money for that purpose. The stone tablet was erected in the sixteenth year of Kien-lung (1751). The style of the tomb somewhat differs from that usually adopted in Loosho. The inhabitants, as may be known, first place the corpse in a coffin, which they deposit in a vault. About three years afterwards when the flesh has decayed they collect the bones and wash them with native ricewine, then they put them in urns which they deposit in the background of the vault.²⁶ There are two different kinds of tombs, one being simply a vault excavated in the rocks the entrance of which is closed with stones or stone plates, the other one is also a vault but its roof is horse-shoe shaped in South-Chinese fashion and before the entrance a broad space is hedged in by a stone wall. Nūgun's tomb is of the first-mentioned type but with some modification. The original vault in which the urn was deposited has apparently been opened in front in order to make room for the stone case and the tablet. Behind the former backwall of the vault a new one has been excavated. The stone case, as might be judged from the first appearance is not a coffin but an altar for burning paper, a so-called stone-furnace (石罏子), as indicated clearly by the hole in front. I observed another specimen of the same shape on an excursion to Uten harbour on a cross-way and it was explained to me by an educated native to be a 'funjuro,' a stone furnace for burning paper. The stone tablet has inscriptions in Chinese on both sides, the one in front being a record of the history (由來記), the one on the back giving a detailed account of Nūgun's descendants. The inscription in front translated is as follows²⁷:

26. The Luchu Islands p. 453.

27. Text quoted by T. Hika, Nakagami Gunshi p. 63, and Okinawa Kyōiku Nr. 44, pp. 32, 33.

Record of the History of the Sūkwan Nūgun

"Our ancestor the Sūkwan Nūgun was a man from the village Nūgun. In the period Wan-li he was appointed by Royal order Sūkwan. When he was formerly in China, he had noticed the foreign potato and introduced it as a substitute for the five grains. Because our country is situated in the midst of a vast ocean, the five grains were damaged every year by storms, and the sad distresses of famine and dearth did not cease. He brought this foreign potato back with him on his return and spread the seeds over our country as a substitute for the five grains, making the country unfailingly prosperous. It was in the thirty-third year of this period that he returned after having fulfilled his official duties. He studied fully the methods of cultivation and brought them with him. In the beginning he planted the potatoes in the village Nūgun and neighbouring districts and spread them over the whole country. Then the Wēkata of Jimma from the Ma Clan, Masatsune, hearing this, came expressly and asked for them. The Sūkwan quickly agreed to a wide distribution over the country and taught him in detail the methods of cultivation. Masatsune, aiding him, spread it over the country, thus further adding to the meritorious services of the Sūkwan. Such was the origin of the foreign potato in our country. (For details see Kiuki and Masatsune-Kafu.) The Sūkwan passed away after a long life and the villagers and the people from the neighbouring districts still worship at his tomb and even from the remote countries they come for reverence. Up to the present his countrymen call him 'Sūkwan u nūshi'²⁸; furthermore they call him 'mmu n nūshi.'²⁹ When later the Chitō of the Shō-Clan, the Wēkata from Nūgun village, Masatsune, saw the inhabitants of the village and of the neighbouring country going to this tomb to pay reverence and even people from remote countries worshipping there, he called the old man

28. "The big master Sūkwan".

29. "The big master of the potato".

of the village and also their descendants and inquired in detail for the reason. Having considered it he himself in the thirty-ninth year of Kang-hsi spent money for putting in order the stone altar and the stone furnace. They altered the grave to make place for the altar and the stone-furnace, thereby rendering the great dead more honour and respect. But we (think): The water issues from one source but is divided into myriad branches. Mankind has been generated from only one man, and (because they have forgotten their common origin) they do not wear (mourning) clothes. If they wear no (mourning) clothes, they really do not differ from the people on the roadside.³⁰ Fearing that they will faultily record the merits of our ancestor, we engrave the record on this stone.

Under the Great Ch'ing Dynasty in the autumn on the grain day of the ninth month of the sixteenth year of Kang-hsi.

Respectfully recorded and erected (by) Fija of the sixth generation, Chikudonushi, residing at Shuri³¹."

According to a memorandum on the back Fija (Japanese Hika (比嘉)) was a descendant of the Sukwan Nūgnu. The inscription on the back of the stone contains no information about the introduction of the potato, and may be omitted here.

To avoid any mistake it is necessary to mention the fact that previous to the introduction of the sweet potato a plant called Satsu-mmu (薯芋) was already known in Lochoo. In spite of the name 'mmu, potato' it is neither a kind of Batata nor Solanum but a kind of Colocasia. The Iroten (鐘老傳) 'Record of Old Bequeaths' states³²:

"In the country Nagagusku (中城) in the boundary of Itoiwa (糸織) is a Buddhist temple called Itoiwaji. A certain guard (a man from Kanebu (金武)) happened to get

30. 發物性、水出一源、而分萬派、人生一人、而並萬服、苟至萬服、竟無異跡人。

31. The second line stands first in Chinese but has been inverted in the translation.

32. Quoted Okinawa Kyōiku Nr. 64 p. 31.

this plant. He cultivated it in his garden and finally it became flourishing throughout the village and the whole country."

For the sake of distinction the people now generally call the *Colocasia* simply *imu* (芋), but the *Batata*, *Karammu*, i.e. Chinese potato.

According to the *Okinawa-shi* about sixty or seventy years after the introduction of the sweet potato by Nāgun into the Loochoo, that is about 1665 to 1675, a Japanese peasant by name Riuemon (利右衛門) became acquainted with it, when travelling in Okinawa. Riuemon was a native of Yamakawa (山川) in the former province of Satsuma, a small place on the western side of the gulf of Kagoshima, from which the fleet started against the Loochoo Kingdom in 1609 sent by the Daimyo Shimadzu Iehisa.³³ Riuemon obtained the seeds of the *Batata*, planting them after his return in his garden. Likewise in Satsuma the people soon acknowledged the value of the plant and thus its cultivation spread quickly over the country. Riuemon died in the second year of Hōei (1705). The people of his village in mentioning his grave call it *Kara-imo-den* 'Chinese Potato palace' and worship there twice a year in spring and in autumn.³⁴

It seems that the sweet potato in Japan was cultivated in the beginning principally in Satsuma, in which part the people called the tuber *Riukin-imo*, Loochoo potato, in memory of the origin. The peasants of Middle Japan seem not to have cared much for the new plant, and only the learned scholar Aoki Konyo (青木昆陽) in the first half of the eighteenth century made it popular throughout the country. This man had learned the Dutch language and translated several works on politics, political economy, natural history, etc., and was commissioned in 1739 to visit all the provinces of Japan in order to collect ancient manu-

33. *Nihon Meisho Chishi* Vol. X, p. 421.

34. *Okinawa-shi* Vol. IV, 23b, 212.

scripts.³⁵ He had noticed the plant probably on a previous tour in Satsuma, because he presented in 1735 to the Bakufu in Yedo a memorandum stating the value of cultivating the sweet potato.³⁶ By means of this pamphlet the cultivation of the Satsuma-imo, as it was called, made good progress.

In memory of Aoki's merits a potato merchant has erected a stone monument for the Kansho Sensei (甘藷先生) in the village Shimono-Meguro (下ノ目黒) in Tokio-fu. The inscription runs³⁷:

"The scholar Aoki Konyo, by personal name Jukusho (旭書) popularly known as Bunzō (文蔵) was born in the eleventh year of Genroku (1698) in Yedo and died in the year of Minowa (1769) at the age of seventy-two. This scholar knowing that the sweet potato is a good food for relieving famine wrote a book concerning the cultivation of the plant and distributed it amongst the people. Since without distributing these rules in every part of the country the seeds would not have been cultivated, we, declaring his merits, have engraved this on the tomb. We engaged in selling the sweet potatoes and thus are very much indebted to the introducer of the Sweet Potato, wherefore we have written the above in order to record it for eternity."

It is interesting, however, to note that Rinemon from Yamakawa was not the first who introduced the sweet potatoes to Japan. This credit has to be given rather to an Englishman who planted them in Hirado as early as in 1615. We read in the Diary of Richard Cocks, the chief of the English factory of Hirado, the following entry (Vol. I., P. XI): "June 19, 1615. I took a garden this day and planted it with potatoes brought from the Liquees, a thing not yet planted in Japan." Furthermore: "July 29, 1618. I set 500 small potato roots in a garden. Mr. Eaton sent me them from Liques (Loochoo)" (Vol. II., P. 59). I do not know

35. cf. Papinot, *Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan* p. 18.

36. *Okinawa Kyōiku*, Nr. 64 p. 31.

37. Quoted *ibid.*

whether the Japanese in the neighbouring districts of Hirado began to cultivate the newly introduced plant or whether the knowledge of it perished with the suppression of the English factory in 1627.

Such we find to be the history of the introduction of the sweet potato into the Far East. Again since most of the South-Sea Islands were discovered by the Spaniards at the end of the sixteenth century, the existence of the sweet potato on these islands scattered in the Pacific may easily be traced back to the introduction by the discoverers. Probably the study of the diaries and narratives written by the first explorers of these territories will bring further light upon this question.

ADDENDUM

BY

J. Struthers, M.A., B. Sc.

For the information of readers of Dr. Simon's paper there are given here below the area and production of Sweet Potato in Japan (prefecture by prefecture) and in Taiwan (Formosa). In this year of scarcity in the three northern prefectures it is of interest to note that in Iwate, Akita, Aomori and Hokkaido the sweet potato is practically not grown.

Besides its use for human food the sweet potato is used for starch making (imo shochū) and kiriboshi (dried and fermented potato made in Shidzuoka).

Figures. In considering the figures of area and production one cho may be considered, approximately, equal to one hectare and one kwan equal to 8¼ lbs. or 3.75 kilogrammes.

Prefecture	Area cho	Production kwan
Tokio	5,002.2	12,024,219
Kioto	1,921.5	5,659,952
Osaka	2,640.2	7,088,576
Kanagawa	7,275.3	22,108,737
Hiogo	3,311.5	8,964,634
Nagasaki	21,650.5	79,634,857
Niigata	1,653.2	11,737,276
Saitama	11,801.9	28,937,802
Gunma	1,933.5	6,411,209
Chiba	13,741.5	45,818,176
Ibaraki	7,812.7	20,962,523
Tochigi	2,792.7	9,136,412
Nara	1,354.2	4,083,385

Miye	3,845.2	12,542,548
Aichi	6,442.7	17,075,436
Shidzuoka	6,746.4	32,282,081
Yamaguchi	973.9	5,438,420
Shiga	754.1	2,658,248
Gifu	2,282.4	7,712,411
Nagano	400.3	874,575
Miyagi	253.0	636,070
Fukushima	1,294.0	4,168,351
Iwate	—	—
Aomori	1.4	5,950
Yamagata	501.2	957,404
Akita	50.5	106,860
Fukui	1,171.2	2,911,245
Ishikawa	2,789.1	8,078,098
Toyama	1,594.9	4,363,889
Tottori	2,251.6	7,135,792
Shimane	5,410.1	15,692,950
Okayama	3,699.6	10,594,230
Hiroshima	9,548.7	35,028,852
Yamaguchi	4,212.8	11,977,178
Wakayama	2,766.8	8,965,523
Tokushima	6,269.3	20,083,811
Kagawa	3,509.8	8,782,247
Ehime	13,982.6	46,590,059
Kochi	10,023.3	23,536,280
Fukuoka	3,876.6	9,681,634
Oita	7,509.4	21,997,816
Saga	3,200.8	11,299,700
Miyazaki	10,850.9	35,311,721
Kagoshima	42,476.9	167,693,435
Okinawa	32,749.5	149,033,170
Kumamoto	20,053.9	35,311,721
Hokkaido	0.2	160
<hr/>		
Total	293,843.0	1,005,903,328
Taiwan	108,196.1	183,665,750

THE KOKWA JICHIROKU

OR

A BUDDHIST PARALLEL TO POOR RICHARD'S
ALMANACK

TRANSLATED BY

Rev. S. H. Wainwright, M.D., D.D.

INTRODUCTION

In his autobiography, Benjamin Franklin, in speaking of one of his works, has this to say: "In 1732 I first publish'd my Almanac, under the name of Richard Saunders; it was continu'd by me about twenty-five years, commonly call'd Poor Richard's Almanac. I endeavour'd to make it both entertaining and useful, and it accordingly came to be in such demand, that I reap'd considerable profit from it, vending annually near ten thousand. And observing that it was generally read, scarce any neighbourhood in the province being without it, I consider'd it as a proper vehicle for conveying instruction among the common people, who bought scarcely any other books; I therefore fill'd all the little spaces that occur'd between the remarkable days in the calendar with proverbial sentences, chiefly such as inculcated industry and frugality, as the means of procuring wealth, and thereby securing virtue; it being more difficult for a man in want to act always honestly, as, to use here one of those proverbs, it is hard for an empty sack to stand upright.

These proverbs, which contained the wisdom of many ages and nations, I assembled and form'd into a connected discourse prefix'd to the Almanac of 1757, as the harangue of a wise old man to the people attending an auction. The bringing all these scatter'd counsels thus into a focus enabled them to make greater impression. The price, being universally approved, was copied in all the newspapers of the Continent; reprinted in Britain on a broad side, to be stuck up in houses; two translations were made of it in French, and great numbers bought by the clergy and gentry, to distribute gratis among their poor parishioners and tenants. In Pennsylvania, as it discouraged useless expense in foreign superfluities, some thought it had its share of influence in producing that growing plenty of money which was observable for several years after its publication."

Recently, there chanced to fall into my hands a Buddhist writing entitled *Kokwa Jichiroku*, or Self-record of Merits and Faults. The parallel between this writing and Franklin's Poor Richard's Almanack was pointed out to me by Japanese friends. Both writings alike recognize a close connection between moral living and material prosperity. Both alike have for their object the diffusion of daily moral instruction among the people. Needless to say, however, the Buddhist writer is more than a practical moralist of the type of Benjamin Franklin. Underneath his scheme lies the theory of Karma, or cause and effect in the moral sphere.

We have in this writing not merely a curiosity of literature. Its intrinsic value may not be great to us of to-day, but the work was important to those who produced it. The history of the writing leaves no room for doubt as to the importance attached to it in China and Japan. The original work, which came into existence in the Min period, under the authorship of Unkoku Zenji, bore the title of *Kokuwakaku*, or Chart of Merits and Faults. This led to the production of the *Inshitsuroku* by Enryohan, in which the retribution of good and evil was set forth in eleven chapters. Renchi Daishi renamed this book and gave to it the title of *Jichiroku*, or Record of Self-knowledge. The present volume bearing the title of *Kokwa Jichiroku* is ascribed to a retainer of the Lord of Kishu who reproduced the Chinese originals in Japanese. Renchi Daishi, otherwise known as Shuko (Choo-hung), was a celebrated priest of the Pure Land Sect. He was the founder of the famous Yuntai Monastery at Hang Chow. He wrote extensively on Buddhism, and carried on a vigorous controversy with the well known European missionary, Matteo Ricci.

Among those who had a hand in the authorship of the treatise, as it has come down to us, there was thus one who bore the highest honorary title of the Buddhist priesthood. Not only so, the original *Ko-kwa-kaku* was presented to the Japanese public by the celebrated Ogin Sorai (1666-1728 A.D.) who wrote an introduction to the work.

An account of the transmission of the *Kokwa Jichiroku* to Japan is given in the introduction in Chinese, written by Yasuda Munetaka, at Hoian, in the Anyei period (1772-1780). According to this writer, the work was rendered into Japanese by a worthy retainer of the Lord of Kishu. Because of his humility, he would not let his name be known. A priest by the name of Gemmu, during the Kwansei reign (1789-1800), owing to a request of the book-sellers, prepared a revised edition with illustrations inserted. A second edition was published in the Tempō period (1820-1843). The copy I have in my possession contains these illustrations and the revisions made by Gemmu.

In the beginning of the volume, there is a large Chinese character for the human heart, underneath which a pair of scales is pendant. Above the beam on the right side is the character for "merit," and on the left side the character for "fault" or "demerit." In the pan of the scales on the right side is the character for "good" and in the pan on the left is the character for "evil." Between the pans in the medial line is the title of the book, namely *Jichiroku*.

The *Kokwa-jichi-roku* will be found valuable for the light it throws upon the social conditions in China, in the 17th century, and upon ruling moral ideas at that time. Such social evils are condemned as slavery, intemperance, infanticide, usury, bribery, arson, fraud, embezzlement, counterfeiting of money, carrying deadly weapons, witchcraft and circulation of impure literature. Encouragement is given to education and reading, moral practice and religious devotion.

The humane teachings of Buddhism are to be seen in the commendation of good Samaritanism, humane laws, humanity in the treatment of animals, and in the generous treatment of employees and servants.

The Buddhist regard for life finds expression in the rules against arson, injury and murder, and against occupations like butchery, the raising of silk worms, hunting and sporting with hawks. The highest merit is awarded to acts which prevent injury or destruction to life. Even

interference with the course of law and the rescuing of the condemned from punishment is a deed of great merit, as is also the issuing of edicts and ordinances forbidding acts of violence. Laws against murder are commended, and their execution is condemned, alike on the ground of the sanctity of life. Justice is swallowed up in mercy. The prevalence of infanticide in China is presupposed by the rules in the *Chart for Daily Living* against the practice. It is to the credit of Buddhism that this social evil was condemned. In Buddhist practical ethics, the sale and consumption of intoxicating liquors is condemned, though not absolutely. The *Jichiroku* does not inculcate total abstinence. One of the curious deeds of merit highly commended is the picking up of scraps of paper, especially paper written on.

As to the conception of merit, Ysanda Munetaka, in his introduction, says that "merit (Ko) is the accumulation of good and the production of meritorious virtue (Kotoku), and that demerit (Kwa) is evil and error. The method of increasing the good and admonishing self against evil is by keeping a daily record of merits and faults and by striking a balance at the end of each month, and by reflection upon the result as to one's moral state."

The doctrine of merit is the principle on which the scheme of life is founded. Merit is efficacy. It is the effect of effort, of good actions, and is the cause of happiness. The conception finds its explanation in the Buddhist law of retribution. I can find little in Chinese Buddhism which upholds the claim put forth by Professor Rhys Davids that Buddhism teaches the transmission of character. An illustration of the law of cause and effect as ordinarily explained is to be found in a statement of the *Kokwa Jichiroku*, which is as follows: "Let one with his soul observe these rules concerning virtues and faults, accumulating the good to the extent of five hundred or one thousand or three thousand or even ten thousand points; if accumulated to this degree, suffering will be obviated and whatever desire or hope one may have will be realized." In other words the effect of

which good deeds are the cause is not moral character but a state of happiness. The term used by Buddhists is not *Zenish-zukwa* (good-cause; good-effect), but rather *Zenish-rakwa* (good-cause; happiness-effect). The scheme of the *Jichiroku* is laid out in accordance with this idea. Good deeds are the means to happiness and good fortune, prosperity in this world and felicity in the world to come. Merit is potential happiness.

When we ask what the nature of the good deeds are, according to Buddhist teaching, we shall find that obedience to commandments occupies a very important place in Buddhist living. The literature of Buddhism, in which disciplinary rules are described and enforced, forms a very considerable proportion of the whole body of sacred writings. There are, for example, the five and ten commandments, the two hundred and fifty monastic rules (*Pratimoksha*), and the fifty-eight commandments of the Mahayana found in the *Brahmajala* sutra, familiarly known as the sutra of the Net of Brahma. The *Pratimoksha* regulations belong to Hinayana Buddhism. The sacred literature of Vinaya, which includes the *Pratimoksha*, is very old, if not the oldest of Buddhist writings. The object of early Buddhism was the uprooting of desires. That it was an ascetic religion is attested by the organization of a fraternity of monks and by the early formation of a body of disciplinary rules. Buddhism almost at once became a religion of the letter. If one should take the trouble to read the Vinaya, he will find the life of the early disciple was put under most minute and rigorous directions prescribed by authority.

Some of the precepts of Buddhism were applicable to the laity and not only to those who devoted themselves exclusively to the religious life. In the *Dhammapada*, there are some rules of a general nature. In the *Dhammika Sutra*, the duties of a lay disciple are laid down, and also in the *Mangala* and the *Sigalovada Sutra*, of the Pali scriptures. The *Kokwa Jichiroku* is not a book of the monastery. Its counsels have reference to social relations and the common life of man. Its place, however, is among

the disciplinary writings of the Buddhist religion. Moral living as set forth consists in obedience to rules.

The conception of a net balance, for or against one, is not absurd, looked at from the Buddhist point of view. If deeds are purely casual, there is no reason why good and evil should not cancel each other as do heat and cold. A different conception finds place in the supplement where it is said: "The one who practices these rules regarding merit, when appearing before the Buddha in whom he believes, should confess all past sins, offer up prayers and vows, and express his desires and petitions."

The interest Japanese have shown in Franklin's Poor Richard's Almanac, a writing perhaps better known to the present generation in Japan than in America, is evidence that in the casuistic method of applying ethical rules and drawing moral distinctions, there is something that appeals to moral consciousness among Japanese. Ogin Sorai uses the language of casuistry, in east and west and in all ages, when he says: "Even a fool knows the difference between good and evil. But one should discern the degrees of good (low and high) and the different degrees of evil (light and grave), and one should have a knowledge of good and evil in his daily living; he should estimate and weigh the relative degrees of good and evil, knowing that with a man whose good and evil balance each other it will be precisely as is indicated in the scales; and knowing that, if in the slightest degree, the good exceeds the evil, corresponding happiness will be given; and that if the evil even slightly exceeds the good, misery, in the same degree, will be imposed upon one. If earnest effort be put forth, one may escape, therefore, the consequences according to the law of cause and effect, resulting from life in the previous existence. Dire consequences can be transmuted into pleasures."

The basis, generally speaking, according to which merit is measured in the present treatise is the outward act rather than the inward motive. Recognition of the inward state

of mind is indeed not wanting. "If one in a single day," it is said in Part III, "accumulates ten or more goods and continues for a half-month in this manner with singleness of heart, and if without weariness the good be pursued, in addition to the proportionate number of merits, one will have to his credit ten additional meritorious marks. This is an expression of the great value to be attached to genuine goodness and to deeds of perseverance. Therefore, during this time, if even for one day or two days, there be indolence and neglect, at the end of a half-month there will be no extra merit to one's credit. If there be an average of ten merits per day, then at the end of the month, including the additional increase, there will be three hundred and twenty merits."

Here singleness of heart and perseverance are qualities the presence of which adds to the meritorious qualities of an act. But as a rule the accent is placed upon the outward life. There is a distinction in the degree of merit according to the persons to which the action has relation. "It being difficult to estimate the good and evil on a common basis for such different classes as the rich and poor, priests and laymen, it has not been undertaken here further than has already been given. Yet eight full classifications of goods and faults in accordance with the plan of the original have been translated without interjecting the translator's personal opinion. The lightness and gravity of good and evil are truly determined by the law of heaven (Tendo)."

Indirect results for good are to be considered in determining the degree of merit of a good deed. "Though the good deed be one, if the result for good be three-fold, it should be reckoned as three goods. If the good result be five-fold, it should be reckoned as five goods, and so on. Even if one good result in a hundred-fold good, it is to be reckoned as one hundred goods. In the case of evil, it is the same. If as is set forth in the foregoing pages, calculation be made, in the space of three years or five years or seven years or ten years, one can mature the root of merit to the extent of three thousand goods."

There is still a different point of view taken as regards merit when it is said: "If these three thousand goods be present to Buddha, as a thank offering, then after one's desire is granted, he will be stimulated to a quick and rapid realization of the three thousand goods. After the three thousand goods have been realized then one should seek enlightenment and say *namu* before Buddha."

The religious motive in the above is so expressed as to bring it to a certain extent within the law of cause and effect. It is not surprising therefore, to read immediately following these words, the statement made by Enryōhan, who said, "When I met Unkoku Zenji, he said, "Fate (*Temmei*) should be determined by self. All misfortune and good fortune should be sought in the self."

The law of retribution, as expounded in the present treatise, pertains to the consequences of actions in this life. "The present *Kokwakaku*, as regards its efficacy, has reference to present rewards. But recompense in the world to come is also acquired though it cannot be estimated."

INTRODUCTION (IN CHINESE) TO THE RECORD OF SELF-KNOWLEDGE OF MERITS AND FAULTS IN JAPANESE

A guest came bringing with him a book. He showed it to me and requested me to write an introduction. He said: "This book is based upon Enryohan's *Kokuwakaku* (Chart of Merits and Faults) and Unsei Daishi's *Jichiroku* (Record of Self-knowledge). The most important matter has been selected from these and formed into a volume entitled *Kokuwa Jichiroku* (Self-knowledge Record of Merits and Faults). It has been translated into Japanese in order that it may be understood by women and children.

I opened the volume and looked at it. In the plan, there was a division between merits and faults. Good and evil in detail were set forth. Evil was condemned and good was encouraged. The method of instructing the reader was painstaking. I greatly admired the production. The thought which occurred to my mind was that merit (*ko*) was the accumulation of good and the production of meritorious virtue (*kotoku*), and that demerit (*kwa*) was evil and error. The method of increasing the good and admonishing self against evil was by keeping a daily record of merits and faults and by striking a balance at the end of each month, and by reflection upon the result as to one's moral state. If the evil preponderated, shame would be felt and a desire to avoid further evil would be experienced. If merit should preponderate, with joy one would take up the pursuit of further good. One would know daily the nature of his own conduct and be able to admonish self. By self-reflection and amendment, his heart would be set right. Truly, if one's desire be to do good and walk in the right path, there is no other method than this to be adopted.

In this volume it is said, "Those who do good obtain happiness, while those who do evil are involved in misfortune." This is a principle established by Heaven and is of course true.

Soshi said, "That which proceeds from you will return to you."

Mencius said that, "Happiness and misfortune are to be sought nowhere except in self."

According to these men, good and evil are put forth from self and happiness and misfortune return to self. Therefore, no one fails to obtain if seeking is by self. Considered from their point of view, if one exerts himself to remove the evil of others and save them from grief, he himself will escape misfortune. If he supports the living and protests against all who kill, he will obtain happiness. If one in the world seeks riches, rank or fame, he has no source of reliance other than by their method. Men know how to get, but they do not know how to get by giving. They do not know that irrational gain will be followed by irrational loss.* By wrong and covetousness, they seek only the increase of gain without effort to benefit others.

If this volume is used widely and its teaching is believed and practised, a better condition of things will be brought about. From individuals to families and from families to villages and from villages to the whole country, the good will spread. Men will become ashamed of evil and the useful will become established. Those who are rich will be content with present acquisitions. The poor will be resigned. Robbers will cease in the land, and virtue will flourish among the people. Even evil men, through a sense of shame awakened, will become good men.

Ah! the merit of this volume, is it not great? With great joy I asked the name of the man who had rendered it in Japanese. The author did not disclose his name. I was of the opinion that it was a retainer of high character, now retired, of the Lord of Kishu. Because of his humility

* Literally, money coming in unreasonably will go out unreasonably.

he would not let his name be known. He was rich by nature in generous feeling. He used his money in order to help and relieve others. His thought was that his own means were limited, but the number of poor people was not. With limited means to save an unlimited number of persons was not easy. So, instead of contributing money, he decided to turn men from doing evil and to induce them to do good and to escape misfortune and obtain happiness. He thought that by thus doing good he would be helped by Heaven and would increase his riches. But in order to turn men away from evil and to the good, he could not visit their houses. Hence, he prepared this volume and had it printed, thinking that thus he might enrich others. To me his desire to benefit others was a beautiful thing and the good he did to others gave me joy. Therefore, without humility and in my imperfect words, I have written this introduction.

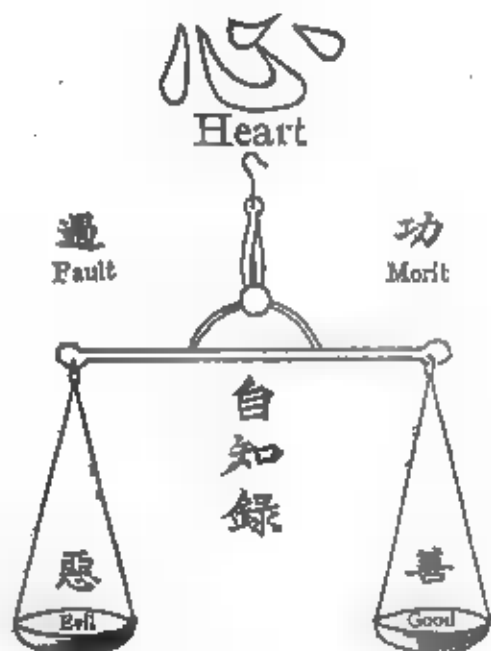
An'ei (1772-1789), September,

Heian,

YASUDA MUNETAKA.

INTRODUCTION TO JAPANESE KOKWA

JICHIROKU



The object of this book is to advance men in goodness and increase their heavenly happiness; to admonish them concerning evil and show them the way of escape from misery. The character *Ko* (merit) is also read *Kun*. The existence of merit is an indication that energy has been put forth and hardship endured in an unusual degree. The practice of good brings to light universal and infinite benefit and meritorious virtue. Hence, instead of the term good, the word merit is used in designation of this result.

The term *kwa* (fault) is also read *agamachi* (error), and also *toga*, (offense). It has the sense of error or misdeed. It refers to something evil. Self-knowledge means the knowledge of one's own self. The teacher, Sorai* in his introduction to the translation of the Kokwakaku said, "Even a fool knows the difference between good and evil. But one should discern the degrees of good (low and high) and the different degrees of evil (light and grave), and one should have a knowledge of good and evil in his daily living. He should estimate and weigh the relative degrees of good and evil, knowing that with a man whose good and evil balance each other, it will be precisely as is indicated in the scales; and knowing that, if in the slightest degree, the good exceeds the evil, corresponding happiness will be given; and that if the evil even slightly exceeds the good, misery, in the same degree, will be imposed upon him. If earnest effort be put forth, one may escape, therefore, the consequences, according to the law of cause and effect, resulting from life in the previous existence. Dire consequences can be transmuted into pleasures." It is for this reason that the chart has been prepared, so that one may keep a daily record of the good and evil in his life and be able to know one's self. The word *roku* (record) is also read *shirusu* (To note down), and hence means to keep a record.

When good is done, even in a slight degree, if accumulated, it will become a great good. So likewise, the slightest evil by repetition becomes a great evil. Also, if in the past there has been great evil, by the renewal of one's mind and by doing good, this evil can thus be destroyed.

This record of self-knowledge was primarily called *Kokuwa Kwaku* (Chart of Merits and Faults). In China, En Ryohan, in the Min Dynasty, received a copy of the *Kokuwa Kwaku* from Unkoku Zenji, the scholar. He applied it in his own life and realized his various desires. Consequently, he wrote a book called *Inshitsuroku*, in which the Rewards of Good and Evil, in eleven chapters, were set forth. *Benchi*

* Ogi Sorai lived 1666-1728, A. D.

Daishi, of the Unsei monastery, renamed the book and called it *Jichi Roku* (Record of Self-knowledge). He made an eight-fold division of goods and faults in his plan of treatment. The Chinese being too difficult for the Japanese, it was simplified. The most important parts were retained and it was put in a form convenient to those who read the Kana. It has been arranged so that the most foolish and simple-minded, even women and children, can understand the distinction between good and evil and be able to avoid the evil, advance the good, escape misery and obtain happiness. If this book be properly used and is believed and put into practice, families will become wealthy, the country will be prosperous and the social order will be maintained with lasting peace. An ancient saying affirms that if you do one act of good you will escape one act of evil. If you avoid one evil, you will escape one punishment. If one punishment in a family be avoided, ten thousand punishments will be prevented in the nation and society will exist in peace. Such is the benefit in the present life. How much greater is the reward in the life to come! Do not treat the subject lightly because of the poorness of the style of writing!

RECORD OF SELF-KNOWLEDGE

I. Loyalty and Filial Piety.

By Shuko Unsei

Monastery, Koko.

1. For the reverence, service and support of father and mother, one day one good.

Note: (a) For the observance of the teaching of father and mother without contradicting them, one good.

(b) For the faithful observance, from the heart and to the best of one's ability, of burial ceremonies of father or mother, for each hundred sen of expense one good.

(c) For expostulating with father and mother and leading them in the good way, one time ten goods.

(d) For persuading one's father or mother to become a Buddhist, one case twenty goods.

2. In case of step-father and step-mother, grandfather and grandmother, father-in-law and mother-in-law, double the good in case of real father and mother.

3. For devotion to one's feudal lord, with loyalty, one day one good.

Note: (a) To advance the good and impart thereby benefit to one person, one good.

(b) To impart thereby benefit to a group of persons, ten goods.

(c) To impart thereby benefit to society in general, fifty goods.

(d) To impart thereby benefit to society in general and to future generations, one hundred goods.

4. To observe the ordinances of the Emperor and not transgress them, one good for each deed.

Note: (a) In everything to be sincere and without guile, one good for each instance.

5. To obey teachers and elders and respect them, one good for each day.

Note: (a) To observe the instructions of one's teacher and not do contrary to them, one good for each word obeyed.

6. To respect your elder brothers and to love your younger brothers, one good for each instance.

Note: (a) In the case of step-brothers, two goods for each instance.

II. Benevolence and Mercy.

1. To rescue one from serious illness, ten goods for each person rescued.

Note: (a) If the disease is light, eight goods for each person.

(b) For each dose of medicine bestowed, one good.

(c) To take home one who is without friends or relatives when he is ill and care for him under one's own roof, for each person, twenty goods.

However, to receive from such person afterwards gifts is not a good.

2. To rescue one from capital punishment who is under condemnation, one hundred goods for each person rescued.

Note: (a) For those in authority to pardon such a one, eighty goods for each person pardoned.

(b) For rescuing one from punishment beaten with a rod, fifteen goods for each person.

(c) For rescuing one from punishment beaten with a whip, five goods for each person.

However, to receive a bribe or thank offering afterward is not a good.

- (d) If this be done not from a sense of duty but from some selfish motive, it is not to be reckoned as a good.

3. For rescuing a child about to be drowned by (its parents), one hundred goods for each life rescued.

Note: (a) For protesting against one who is about to murder his child and preventing the act, eighty goods for each life.

- (b) For caring for a child cast off, eighty goods for each child.

- (c) Preventing the abortion of an unborn child, one hundred goods for each life saved.

4. For rescuing the life of horses, oxen and other animals used by man, twenty goods for each life.

Note: (a) For rescuing the life of mountain lions, deer, geese or ducks, animals not used by man, ten goods for each life.

- (b) For rescuing the life of small things, like sparrows and fishes, one good for each life.

- (c) For rescuing the lives of such insignificant things as gnats, mosquitoes, ants, flies and minnows, one good for each ten lives.

However, generally speaking, there is no good superior to that of rescuing life. To save means to purchase and set free, to stop one who is about to commit murder, and to make laws against the taking of life. To rescue the lives of insignificant things and not to do the same with regard to the lives of greater things, and thus to seek to obtain happiness; such is not a good, because one does not possess a true heart of pity. To save one great life, not begrudging the cost, is just the same as saving a large number of insignificant lives.

5. To save the life of rats and snakes and other beings which inflict injury, one good for each life saved.

Note: (a) If a snake has not yet bitten a man, it does not merit death punishment.

However great the injury inflicted by a rat, it never commits a deed sufficient to merit capital punishment.

6. If one saves the life of a living thing about to be killed for a feast at the time of a festival or celebration or redeems the life by purchasing something else as a substitute in the market, for one life saved one good.

7. To reform the lives of hunters and sportsmen whose business it is to kill, three goods.

Note: (a) To induce such men to repent of their error and completely give up their vocation, fifty goods for each reformed.

8. If rulers forbid the killing of living things, ten goods for each case.

9. For giving a decent burial to such domestic animals as dogs, fowls, cattle and horses, ten goods for each animal; five goods for each small animal. To cause the Buddhist scriptures to be read over the grave, five goods for each life.

10. To care for the homeless and friendless or a child without parents or parents without children, for one hundred sen expended one good.

Note: (a) To give small things amounting in value to one hundred sen, the aggregate will amount to one good.

(b) To bestow cotton cloth, linen, same as above.

(c) For comforting relatives, for looking after the happiness of the poor, for the relief of the distress of one's friends, and for bestowing help upon those who come in and out of one's house (as merchants or tradesmen), same as the above.

(d) To take one who is in distress, as described above, into one's own household and to nourish him there, one good for each day.

11. To see or hear of sorrow and to condole or comfort, one good.

12. To put the rice down and sell it cheap to sufferers from famine, one good for each hundred sen in value.

13. To feed the hungry, one good for each meal.

Note: (a) To give a cup of hot water or tea to the thirsty, one good for ten drinks.

(b) To give warmth to the cold and lodging for one night, one good.

(c) To give one garment padded with cotton, one good.

(d) To give a pine torch or a lantern to a man on a dark night, one good for each man.

(e) To give a grass overcoat to a man when it is raining, same as the above.

14. To give food to birds or beasts, one good for two meals.

15. For cancelling a debt for gold or silver loaned, one good for each hundred-sen.

Note: (a) To relinquish claim on money loaned after one has paid interest on it from year to year, if the borrower be financially straitened, one good for each two hundred sen.

However, for relinquishment of one's claim for principal after suing the man at law and failing to get it because he is a bankrupt, there is no merit.

16. To release domestic animals, cattle and horses, servants and employees, when they are suffering from fatigue to give them time for rest, one good for each.

17. To pay the funeral expenses of those who are unable to pay their own, one good for each hundred sen bestowed.

18. To bury the bones of a man's body that has been thrown away, ten goods for each corpse.

Note: (a) To bury the corpse that has been thrown away, twenty goods for each corpse.

(b) To give ground and burial to one, twenty goods for each corpse.

However, it is no merit to take rent from land leased for this purpose.

(c) To repair the neglected condition of the tombs of noted men, or of Buddhist pagodas, one good for one hundred sen contributed.

19. To put rough or muddy roads in good condition so that passage will become easy, one good for a hundred sen.

Note: (a) To dig wells or make ponds convenient for the people or to bridge streams or to provide ferries, one good for one hundred sen.

However, if rental is charged for bridges or ferries thus provided, there is no merit.

20. To obey those who are over one and to have mercy on those who are under him, one good for each person.

Note: (a) In spite of his mistakes, to show mercy to an employee and cause him to fulfill his duties, ten goods.

However, to receive a bribe is not a good.

(b) To bear with those who are under one's authority and not treat them cruelly, the same as the above.

21. To look upon the people as one would look upon his own children and to do nothing contrary to their interests, one good for each act.

22. To give liberty to one's concubines, ten goods for each person released.

Note: (a) In case she becomes a bride elsewhere, to give money for the wedding expenses, one good for each hundred sen.

(b) To return men or women one has purchased, and not to claim the money paid out for them, one good for each hundred sen.

III. Acts toward the Three Precious Ones (Buddha, Law and Priesthood.)

1. For contribution toward the making of an image to founders of sects, Bodhisattvas or Buddhas, one good for each hundred sen.

Note: (a) For contribution for the construction of images of wise men, sages and divinities, one good for each two hundred sen.

(b) To repair fallen or damaged images, same as preceding.

2. To contribute for making type for printing the scriptures,* one good for each hundred sen.

Note: (a) For the printing of books concerning the Man and Deva Two Vehicle Doctrine, one good two hundred sen.

(b) The contribution of type, the same.

However, if compensation is taken, then there is no merit.

3. To contribute for the construction of pagodas, temples or their equipment, one good for each hundred sen.

Note: (a) Contribution of land, one good for each hundred sen of the price of the land.

(b) For the construction of shrines for good divinities, one good for each two hundred sen.

* Kyoritsuron (Sutras, Vinayas and Sastras.)

4. For presentation of incense and oil, one good for each hundred sen.

5. To welcome the commandments of a Bosatsu, forty goods.

Note: (a) For Hinayana commandments, thirty goods.

(b) For the ten commandments, twenty goods.

(c) For the five commandments, five goods.

6. For the interpretation of the Mahayana scriptures,* fifty goods for each volume. Though the number of volumes may be large, the maximum limit of merit in this respect is fifteen hundred goods.

Note: (a) For the Two Vehicle Doctrine and the Man and Deva books, ten goods for one volume. But, however great the number of volumes, merit will not exceed three hundred goods.

However, if the interpretations are prejudiced or unfaithful, there is no merit to be reckoned.

7. To become the author of a book on Buddhist teaching, fifteen goods for one volume. However great the number of volumes written, merit cannot exceed five hundred goods.

Note: (a) To write a book on secular teaching, ten goods for one volume. However great the number of volumes, merit cannot exceed one hundred goods.

However, to expound that which is unprofitable to men is not meritorious.

8. To read the scriptures for Buddhists, friends, parents or one's superiors, two goods for each volume.

Note: (a) To repeat the name of Buddha, two goods for one thousand times.

(b) To worship Buddha, two goods for a hundred times.

* Kyoritsuron (Sutras, Vinayas, and Sastras.)

However, to receive gifts for this is not meritorious.

- (c) To worship a hundred times, repeat the name of Buddha a thousand times, and to read one volume, for one's own sake, one good for each of these.

9. For the sake of lords and masters, parents and all other living beings, to provide for Buddhist offices, one good for every hundred sen of expenses contributed.

Note: (a) To go on the platform and contribute a sermon, three goods for one time.

However, if paid for the sermon, it is without merit.

- (b) To contribute money in order that prayers may be offered in time of social calamities, one good for each hundred sen.

10. For expounding to hearers the Vinaya Scriptures of Mahayana Buddhism, one good for an audience of five. The maximum limit of merit, one hundred goods.

Note: (a) To expound the Two Vehicle Doctrine, or Man and Deva Doctrine, one good for each three persons. Highest limit of merit, eighty goods.

However, to do this for material reward or for the sake of reputation, no merit.

11. To go to places where the law is interpreted and to give serious attention thereto, one good for each time.

12. When priests come to your house and ask for something to eat and you contribute food to them, one good for each three priests.

Note: (a) If they come upon your invitation, one good for two priests.

- (b) If you take the food to the temple for the priests to eat, one good for one priest.

- (c) If one with a true heart invites a priest to his house, pays him honour and gives him food to eat, five goods to one priest.

However, if the priest should keep coming and eating and you give to him because you can not help it, no merit.

13. To help priests, one good for one person. If the priest be not a good man, there is no merit in helping him.

14. If one embraces the wise teachings of a Buddha and raises up young priests who serve the people with profit, fifty goods for each priest raised up.

Note: (a) If the disciple be one of good conduct and clear understanding of duty, ten goods for each disciple.

(b) If the disciple understands duty and does not practise good or if he practises good and does not understand duty, five goods for each disciple.

IV. Miscellaneous Goods

1. To decline with pure intention to take money that one should not take, one good for each hundred sen.

Note: (a) To decline to receive what one might well receive, two goods for each hundred sen.

(b) If one who does this is in a condition of poverty, three goods for each hundred sen.

2. For men and women to keep the Way and not yield to passion,* fifty goods.

3. To return faithfully without fail what one has borrowed from another, one good.

4. To pay the debts of another man in his stead, one good for each hundred sen.

5. If there be a bestowal of mountain, forest or fields, or of crops, one good for each hundred sen.

6. To practise the occupation of one's house and to lead with firmness one's wife and children in the right way, one good for each deed.

* Sexual passion.

Note: (a) For controlling with care household servants, maids and manservants, observing the proper proprieties without becoming angry and scolding them harshly and explaining to them that they may understand well what their duties are and guiding them in a way that will make their souls better, one act one good.

7. To persuade a man for good and cause him to loosen his purse strings in benevolence thereby increasing his store of good and merit, for each hundred sen given by him one good.

However, if one causes by means of his own wealth or prestige another to contribute money, there is no merit.

8. To stop proceedings in behalf of one who is to be tried for his life and secure mercy for him, ten goods.

Note: (a) To bring about reconciliation and apology between persons who quarrel, one good.

However, if one receives a present for doing this, there is no merit.

9. Speaking virtuous words such for example as when the Chinese say, "Heaven knows, earth knows, I know and you know."^{*}

10. To see good in others and do it yourself, one good for each deed.

Note: (a) To see error in others and reform oneself, one good for each act.

11. In conference with others, not to press one's own personal opinion, but to submit to reason, one good for each occasion.

12. To utilize good men, ten goods for each man used.

Note: (a) For each bad man put in the background, ten goods for each man.

(b) For praising the good in a man and urging him to do still better, one good for each man.

* There is no merit indicated here.

- (c) For not making fun of the mistakes of others and for not ridiculing the evil of others, one good for each act.
- (d) For checking a man who is speaking evil of others, five goods for each instance.

13. For respect shown to sages and good men and reading or causing to be read the scriptures, after they are dead, five goods for one man.*

Note: (a) For stopping one who ■ reviling another, five goods.

14. To admonish a man and cause his evil heart to become good by self-renewal, ten goods for each person.

Note: (a) To cause a man to succeed in the occupation of his house, ten goods.

- (b) To cause ■ man to carry his intellectual education to completion, twenty goods.
- (c) To cause a man to perfect his moral education, twenty goods.

15. To cause your friend to practise righteousness and to cherish his friendship in your heart and whether it be known or not to remain without change, ten goods.

However, of this kind an example is the placing of the sword upon a tree at the grave of one *Kitatsu*.†

- Note: (a) To abide by one's contract without change and to do the right thing even at the hazard of one's life, one hundred goods.
- (b) After money is committed to one as a trust, no matter how many years may have elapsed, for the fulfillment of the obligation and performance of the right, one good for each hundred sen.

* Reading the ritual for the dead.

† According to the story, the friend coveted *Kitatsu's* sword, but did not make known his desire. When *Kitatsu* returned and found his friend dead, he placed his sword upon the tree. The point is friendship is of the heart.

16. When one is favoured and does not forget this but makes a return, one good for each act.

Note: (a) If the return is greater than the favour, ten goods.

(b) Not to return resentment, for each instance one good.

However, it is not to be considered a good if one makes return for favours shown in an unrighteous way.

17. To wear clothes which have been mended, two goods.

Note: (a) To wear plain clothes, one good.

However, if one wears mended or plain clothes because of necessity, it is not a good.

(b) If such garments are worn for the good impression made on others in one's favour, it is not a good.

18. If one who eats meat reduces the amount eaten, one good for each meal.

Note: (a) One who does not eat meat and yet who reduces the amount of his food, for one meal, two goods.

However, if one who has not the means of good living lives on a small amount, it is not a good.

19. To see butchering done and yet decline to eat, one good.

Note: (a) To hear that butchering has been done and not to eat, one good.

(b) To halt one in the act of butchering for a feast for oneself and not to eat, one good.

20. To bear the unreasonableness of others, for one case, three goods.

21. To find something, seek out its owner and return it, one good for every hundred sen of the value.

22. To put the blame on self and to give others credit for merit, two goods for every instance.

23. When one's fortune is good or evil, to accept it with resignation as one's fate, trusting to heaven without desire, ten goods for each instance.

24. To think always of that which will be to the advantage of others and not of one's own interest in regard to land or dwellings, one day one good.

25. Though one loses his own property, if he exerts himself to promote the prosperity of others, fifty goods.

26. To be submissive when one suffers the loss of his own possession and not to blame others or show resentment toward heaven, three goods for each case.

27. To suppress an evil desire to kill a victim, five goods.

28. To present one with a book which teaches how to preserve and prolong life, for each copy, five goods.

Note: (a) To give medicine to relieve sickness, one good for five remedies.

However, to receive recompense for the relief given is not a good. To give a remedy against reason which has not been tried is not a good.

29. To pick up scraps of paper by the roadside, with writing on them, so that the characters will not become stained, one good for every thousand characters.*

30. One who has wealth and influence and who yet does not make a show of these in his use of them, but who practises economy and is contented with his position, ten goods for each case.

31. To forego authority or place to which one is entitled, ten goods.

32. To receive bad money from others and not to pass it on when one knows it is bad, but to put it aside, three goods.

* No scrap of paper, especially paper which has been written on, is left lying by the way in China. Such carelessness would not be in accord with the right attitude toward learning.

Supplementary

1. To save a man's life, one hundred goods.
2. To teach others what is good and evil, five goods for each man taught.

Note: (a) To advance others and lead them to act with discrimination as to faults and merits, fifty goods for each man.

PART II

I. SECTION ON FAULTS

1. Lack of Loyalty and Filial Piety

1. To support your father and mother without reverencing them, one instance, one fault.

Note: (a) Not to listen to advice of father or mother, one instance, one fault.

- (b) When opposed by father or mother with anger, to become angry in one's own heart, one fault.
- (c) To show anger in one's face outwardly and to oppose them with violent words, ten faults.
- (d) To be indifferent toward objects loved by one's parents, one instance, ten faults.
- (e) Not to attend to burial obsequies of mother or father, one instance, ten faults.
- (f) Not to protest when one should protest against his father or mother's error, one instance, one fault.

2. Not to serve one's step-father and step-mother, foster-father, and foster-mother, grandfather and grandmother, father-in-law and mother-in-law, one instance, one fault.

3. To serve one's master without singleness of heart, one case, one fault.

Note: (a) Not to protest to one's master when protest should be made, for a small matter, one fault; large matter, ten faults; extraordinary matter, fifty faults.

4. Not to observe the prohibitions of the country's lord, one instance, one fault.

4. Disrespect towards one's teacher, one day one fault.

Note: (a) Not to put into practice the teacher's good instruction, for each word one fault.

(b) To antagonize one's teacher, thirty faults.

However, if the teacher is unreasonable, antagonism is not a fault.

6. To become angered and engage in strife with one's brother, one instance two faults.

Note: (a) If a half brother, for each instance, three faults.

2. Lack of Benevolence and Piety

1. Not to rescue one from serious illness who might be rescued, for each person two faults.

Note: (a) If the disease is light, for each person one fault.

However, if one be poor or if there be a reason which makes it difficult to rescue the person from illness, it is not a fault.

2. To mix medicines and produce a poison, five faults.

Note: (a) If one's intention be to inflict hurt on another, one hundred faults.

(b) If one destroys (with poison) the life of another, one hundred faults.

(c) If the man poisoned should recover, fifty faults.

3. To inflict unlawful punishment, for each time, ten faults.

Note: (a) To beat an innocent person with stripes, for each stripe one fault.

4. For parents to drown a new-born child, for each life, one hundred faults.

Note: (a) To produce abortion, for one life eighty faults.

5. If an officer should know that a person who is being accused and tried is innocent and take no steps to clear him and the accused is condemned to capital punishment, eighty faults.

Note: (a) If the punishment be severe beating, eight faults.

(b) Light beating, four faults.

(c) If the man is condemned to capital punishment through bribery, one hundred faults.

6. To cherish ill will in one's heart and the intention of inflicting harm on another, one fault for each person.

Note: (a) If the intention is carried into effect, one person ten faults.

7. To murder a man, one hundred faults for each life.

Note: (a) If the man recovers from his injury, eighty faults.

(b) To incite others to murder, same number of faults.

8. To kill cattle, horses and other beasts used in the service of man, one life twenty faults.

Note: (a) To kill inadvertently, five faults.

(b) To kill a beast which is of no use to man, ten faults for each life.

(c) To spare or flatter men for killing, the same.

(d) To kill for ordinary food, the same.

(e) To feed beasts and sell them to be killed, the same.

- (f) To kill for sacrifices to the gods, the same.
- (g) To kill for medicinal purposes, the same.
- (h) To feed silkworms is the same as feeding and killing beasts.
- (i) To kill the same inadvertently, two faults.
- (j) To kill a small beast, one life one fault.
- (k) To kill a small beast inadvertently, ten beasts one fault.
- (l) To kill very small insignificant beings, ten lives one fault.
- (m) To kill the same inadvertently, twenty lives one fault.
- (n) To cause others to kill is the same as killing by one's self.

10. To kill snakes, rats, and other animals injurious to man, one life one fault.

Note: (a) To kill inadvertently, ten lives one fault.

11. Not to prevent the killing of an animal, half the faults of the above.

However, if one interferes and fails, it is no fault.

Note: (a) If he fails to prevent the killing and yet does not feel pity, two faults.

12. To sell for butchery an ox of the plow or a riding horse or a watch dog, after these have grown old, a great life ten faults, a small life five faults.

13. When it is not one's duty to kill animals, and yet one kills them, the fault is double that in the foregoing case.

Note: (a) To buy secretly the same.

14. To put a living thing in the pot to cook for food and kill by cooking alive, and thereby to cause cruel suffering, for one life twenty faults.

15. To sport with hawks, to hunt with dogs, to catch fish, to shoot birds and to inflict injury on these without killing them, for each living thing, five faults.

Note: (a) If the thing die from the injury, the same as stated in the killing of animals.

- (b) To dig out insects from their winter hibernation, to surprise birds sleeping on their roosts at night, to dig into holes, destroy nests and eggs which contain the young, the same as the above.

However, in building bridges, making roads, constructing towers and pagodas and such like works, for good ends, if unavoidably these things be done, there is no fault. Still one who is under the necessity of doing these things should be very penitent and as far as possible make restitution.

16. To put a bird in a cage and nourish it there under such cruel conditions, one fault for each day.*

17. To look upon one who is dying and not feel grief, one fault.

18. To see relatives or friends in need and not to extend a helping hand to relieve their hunger, or to provide food or shelter, one fault for each person.

However, if I myself am very poor, it is not a fault.

19. To make fun of children or old people or fools or sick persons or deaf or blind, ten faults for each person.

20. To see another's grief or suffering and not to speak words of comfort, one fault.

Note: (a) To delight in seeing this, two faults.

(b) To increase another's suffering who is thus looked upon in the state of suffering, five faults.

(c) To rejoice to see another suffer loss upon loss, two faults.

21. In time of famine not to bestow rice, but on the contrary to ask a high price for it, fifty faults.

Note: (a) To prevent the sale of rice under such circumstances on the part of others, the same.

* Such birds as are released at funerals.

22. To coerce a poor man to whom one has loaned money and secure his conviction, five faults.

23. To use men, cattle and horses incessantly and unreasonably without a feeling of pity for them, one time ten faults.

Note: (a) In addition to this, to beat them, one fault for each stroke.

24. To open up a grave and throw a man's bones about, for each place dug up fifty faults.

Note: (a) To level down a burying place on the hillside into a field, ten faults for each place.

(b) To resort to authority and cause the sale of the fields or houses of another, ten faults for every hundred sen in value.

(c) To acquire property at a low price for oneself by forced sale, one fault for every hundred sen in value.

25. To destroy or obstruct highways and prevent the passage of men, cattle and horses, five faults for each day.

Note: (a) To injure or destroy bridges, ferries, wells or stopping places, the same.

26. For higher officers to prevent the rise and promotion of officers below them, thirty faults for each person hindered.

Note: (a) To prevent the rise of lower officials by immoral methods, fifty faults.

27. To treat oppressively lower officials on the part of higher officials, thirty faults for each person oppressed.

28. To neither give one's concubine a discharge nor cease to keep her shut up at home, one fault for each person.

Note: (a) To have evil designs toward one's wife or children, for each person designed against, fifty faults.

3. Evil Deeds Connected with the Three Honorable Ones. (Buddha, Law and Priesthood)

1. For injuring an image of a Buddha or a Bodhisatva, two faults for every hundred sen damage.

Note: (a) For injury to images of devas, good divinities, sages and scholars, one fault for every hundred sen damage.

However, it is not a fault if the injury be to images of heretics and false gods.

2. For mockery of Buddha or an apostle, five faults for each word.

Note: (a) In case of devas, sages, one fault for each word.

However, if this be done with sincerity or good motives, in order to rescue a man from error, it is no fault.*

3. To let the time for worship of a Buddha go by unobserved, one fault.

However, if this be due to sickness or unavoidable duty, it is not a fault.

Note: (a) If the time for worship be lost because of licentiousness or drinking; five faults.

(b) If the time be lost on one of the six festival days, the fault is doubled.

However, the six festival days are set apart especially for the observance by the lay families, and therefore the rule is as stated. The six days are the eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, twenty-third, twenty-ninth and thirtieth days of the month. On short months, the twenty-eighth is added.

* The Zen Sect has frequently become iconoclastic to which reference may be made here.

4. For injury to temples, pagodas, Buddhist sacred implements and vessels and the like, one fault for every hundred sen value.

Note: (a) To one inflicting such injury without interfering to prevent it, five faults.

(b) On the contrary to aid such a one, ten faults. If the injury inflicted be to the shrines of devas and divinities, one fault for every two hundred sen.

However, if it be the shrines of heretical divinities by which men are led astray, it is not a fault.

5. If land is sold, dedicated to sacred usages, one fault for every hundred sen.

Note: (a) For selling movable property belonging to a temple, the same.

6. For destroying the scriptures (a sutra) two faults for every hundred sen.

Note: (a) For destroying a Man and Deva treatise (Sastra), of the Two Vehicle Doctrine, five faults for each word.

8. To know and enjoy the law selfishly without teaching it to others, ten faults.

However, if it be because of inability to teach, it is not a fault.

(a) To prevent the propagation of the good law by putting obstacles in the way, ten faults.

However, if it be a heretical or a mistaken opinion, it is not a fault.

(b) Even in the case of a good law, if it be a time when it should be concealed, it is not a fault not to teach it.

8. In reading the scriptures to misread one word, one fault.

Note: (a) To skip one word in reading, one fault.

- (b) To think of something else while reading, five faults.
- (c) To have evil thoughts while reading the scriptures, ten faults.
- (d) To speak of something else while reading the scriptures, five faults.
- (e) To speak of something else that is good while reading the scriptures, one fault.
- (f) To read without observing the rules of propriety and with slovenliness and light-mindedness, five faults.
- (g) To feel anger while reading the scriptures, ten faults.
- (h) To scold another person while reading the scriptures, twenty faults.
- (i) To strike another person while reading the scriptures, thirty faults.

9. To produce a spurious scripture (Sutra), and publish the same, ten faults for each volume.

10. In expounding the law to follow one's own mind and to contradict the views of the Buddhist founders and teachers, one fault for every five persons hearing the exposition.

11. To write books on salacious, popular subjects, or lover's books, one fault for each time.

12. To teach to others the use of foxes or wicked devices, or medicines to produce abortion or other evil methods, twenty faults for each device taught.

13. A family which declines to give food to a priest when requested to do so, one fault for each person.

However, if the family declines because they have no food in the house, it is not a fault.

Note: (a) Not only to refuse to give food, but to scold and put the priest to shame, three faults.

However, if it be a priest making the refusal, the fault is double.

14. To support an evil disciple and not expel him, fifty faults for each disciple.

Note: (a) Not to correct the offense of a disciple, one fault for a small offense, ten faults for a great offense.

4. Miscellaneous Misdoings

1. To take money which should not be taken, one fault for one hundred sen.

Note: (a) If the money is taken by a rich man, two faults for a hundred sen. For illicit intercourse committed upon relatives, nuns or chaste women of good standing, eighty faults.

(b) If committed in the thoughts of the heart and not in outward conduct, ten faults.

(c) If with a daughter of a good family, forty faults.

(d) If in thought with the daughter of a good house, five faults.

(e) If with a servant, ten faults.

(f) If with a courtesan, five faults.

However, if between parents and children, it is a matter which needs no discussion as being beyond the fixing of limits.

(g) In the case of priests who commit any of these faults, without distinction as to the person with whom the offense is committed, whether high or low, eighty faults.

(h) For a priest to cherish the thought in his heart, ten faults.

2. To put young men or immoral women in one's house for illicit purposes, fifty faults for each person.

3. To steal property or money, for one quantity of one sen in value, one fault. Above these amounts, for each hundred sen value, one fault.

Note: (a) To deceive an official in the payment in kind of land tax, one fault for every hundred sen.

(b) If by means of authority, there be fraud practised, ten faults for every hundred sen in value.

4. If a bribe be taken for which a man is promoted or for which his crimes are winked at, one fault for every hundred sen.

Note: (a) To receive a bribe and in consequence to dismiss an official or to bring false charge against some one, ten faults for every hundred sen of the value of the bribe.

5. To borrow gold or silver from some one and not return it, one fault for every hundred sen.

Note: (a) To borrow gold or silver and to covet the death of the lender, ten faults.

6. To make the measures and balances light when selling and heavy when buying, according to the value of the article, one fault one hundred sen.

7. Not to promote a man of merit, five faults.

Note: (a) On the contrary, to put such one lower down, ten faults.

(b) To see evil and not withdraw from the place, five faults.

(c) On the contrary, to become an accomplice and render aid, ten faults.

(d) To conceal the merits of a good man, one fault for each instance.

(e) To parade a man's evils, the same.

However, if unavoidably in the case of litigation, one speaks in accordance with reason of the faults and evils of others, it is not a fault.

(f) If a man's evils are spoken of in order to remove evil or save the man, it is not a fault.

8. To seek out the mistakes of the ancient sages and to put forth new views, one fault for each word.

Note: (a) To contradict reason, ten faults for each word.

(b) To write novels or comic poems and ridicule good persons, therein defaming them, thirty faults for each instance.

(c) To gossip about a person concerning matters which should be kept secret, without knowing the truth or falseness of the matter in question, ten faults for each instance.

(d) To represent as a fact what has no foundation in reality, fifty faults.

(e) In order to write evil things concerning a man, to put down things which are partly true and partly false, twenty faults.

(f) To write what is wholly false, fifty faults.

However, if without exaggeration and for the public good and to remove evil, such is not a fault.

9. To instigate that which may become a peril to human life, thirty faults.

10. To use for one's self money contributed for meritorious purposes, one hundred sen, one fault.

Note: (a) If contributed for the Buddha, Law or Priesthood, ten sen one fault.

(b) If used for a good purpose, but different from that which was in the mind of the donor, one hundred sen one fault.

11. To take sides in a quarrel and thereby promote the strife, one fault.

Note: (a) To foster strife between parents and children and between brothers or sisters in the family, thirty faults.

(b) To obstruct with a view to preventing the marriage of persons, five faults.

However, if there be reason for preventing the marriage, interference is not a fault.

12. To speak words deleterious to one's moral character, ten faults for each word.

However, as an illustration, the words of Soas in China, who said, "Though I may oppose others, others should not oppose me," apply.

13. A lie spoken in order to cheat a man, one fault for each instance.

Note: (a) If the lie results in injury to others, ten faults.

14. To see good in others and not imitate it, one fault for each time.

Note: (a) To fall into error and not correct it, one fault for each instance.

(b) To gloss over an error and not to listen to correction, but on the contrary, enter into contention, two faults.

However, if such conduct be towards parents, lords and masters, teachers and other persons above one, ten faults.

15. In consultations and conferences to hold tenaciously to one's own opinions and ignore the opinions of others, one fault for each occasion.

16. To cause your wife and children to have a teacher and not to interfere when their teacher is misleading them, one fault for each time.

Note: (a) In the case of one's retainers and servants, the fault is the same.

17. Though one may be a man of superior parts, not to learn from him, five faults.

Note: (a) To decline to associate with those who excel yourself, two faults.

(b) On the contrary, to ridicule and defame such persons, ten faults.

18. To revile your superiors in authority and to speak evil concerning them, ten faults.

Note: (a) If he be your equal, five faults.

(b) If your inferior in office, one fault.

(c) If the evil words spoken are against a sage, one hundred faults.

(d) If against learned men and gentlemen, ten faults.

19. To induce others, by your teaching, to commit evil, two faults for each time.

Note: (a) To teach men such great evils as disloyalty or want of filial piety, fifty faults for each time.

(b) To see evil in others and not admonish them, thirty faults. If it be a small matter, one fault.

However, if the man be self-willed and decline to receive admonition, it is not a fault.

20. To write a popular song and to give thereby an evil name to another, five faults for each person defamed.

21. To tell lies, one fault for each lie.

Note: (a) To pretend that one fully understands the way, when he does not, and teach and mislead others, fifty faults for each deception.

22. For breach of contract, if a small matter, one fault for each instance, and ten faults for each great violation.

Note: (a) For failing to account for treasures held in trust, one fault for each hundred sen in value.

23. Not to show gratitude for favours done one, one fault for each instance.

Note: (a) If one, on the contrary, resents evils done to him, the same.

(b) To show resentment in an undue degree because of anger, ten faults.

(c) To covet evil concerning one who is envious of self, one fault.

- (d) To rejoice when hearing that one envious of oneself has met with destruction, one fault.

24. To eat flesh, one fault for each time.

Note: (a) To eat meat which in particular one should not eat, two faults for each eating.

However, this refers to meat bought in the market. If it be meat killed by oneself, the fault is to be determined as under the heading of taking life.

25. To drink *sake* on an occasion when a consultation or conference for evil purposes is being held, six faults for each pint (go).

(b) To drink *sake* without reason for drinking it, one fault.

However, if it be as a tonic to parents or for the entertainment of guests or for medicinal purposes, *sake* drinking is not a fault.

26. To open a store for the selling of *sake* and fish and to attract people there and cause them to eat and drink, one fault for each person attracted.

27. ■ one eats one of the five spices or peppers, one fault for each eating.

Note: (a) If one reads the scriptures immediately after eating pepper or spice, one fault for each volume.

28. To eat meat on a sacred day, two faults for each eating.

Note: (a) After eating meat, to appear before the images of Buddha or at the temples, one fault.

(b) To drink *sake* and eat spices at the same time, the same as before.

29. To put on apparel, unduly gay, one fault for each garment. To eat delicacies, one fault for each eating.

However, if these things be done in the honour of parents, it is not a fault. If in making offerings to the Buddha images or to the gods, one's offerings exceed his circumstances, it is an instance of extravagance.

30. Rice and the other of the five cereals are gifts from heaven. To treat these lightly or handle them carelessly, one fault for every hundred sen in value.

31. To deal in deadly weapons or gambling devices and to sell these to men, one fault for every hundred sen in value.

32. Not to return to the owner articles found, one fault for every hundred sen in value.

33. To give oneself credit for all successes, and to attribute to others all failures, two faults for each instance.

34. To seek out many inventions under the promptings of selfishness and to neglect the righteous and moral way, ten faults for each instance.

35. In social intercourse, to think of oneself and not to think of the convenience of others, one fault for each day.

36. When others are suffering the loss of their property, for one to be complacent, saying that he himself is safe and his house secure, fifty faults.

37. To be indifferent as to whether paper with writing on it is thrown away or not, one fault for each ten characters of the writing.

38. When one suffers loss or meets with adversity, not to reflect upon his own errors, but to blame other men, and to be envious of Buddha, three faults for each case.

39. To use money which one knows is counterfeit, three faults for each hundred sen.

Supplementary

1. Not to offer incense, not to keep the sacred grounds clean, and not to worship the Buddhist images, and still to frequent the temples, five faults.

Note (a) To eat meat in Buddhist temples, ten faults.

2. To take presents to officials in authority as bribes in order to promote some one or to lighten the offenses of others, one fault for every five hundred sen in value of the present.

Note: (a) To encourage a person to fail or to commit sin, even if the person does not go to the length of failing or committing sin, or whether the sin be light or serious, ten faults for every thirty days.

3. To promote one's own success and to be indifferent to furthering the success of others, one fault for every thirty days.

However, if you encourage another in the direction of success, and he does not attain thereto, it is not a fault.

PART III

A Supplement Giving in Outline the General Significance of Faults and Virtues.

1. Men in the world whether high or low should govern their desires according to their respective stations in life. When something is desired, if it be the occasion of painful anxiety to the mind and suffering to the body, it need not be pursued until realized. Or when praying to Buddhas or making oath before heaven, covering a period of a hundred or a thousand days, it is not necessary to wait for the maturing of these. Simply let one with his soul observe these rules concerning virtues and faults, accumulating the good to the extent of five hundred or one thousand or three thousand or even ten thousand points; if accumulated to this degree, suffering will be obviated and whatever desire or hope one may have, it will be realized.

2. The one who practises these rules regarding merit, when appearing before the Buddha in whom he believes, should confess all past sins, offer up prayers and vows and express his desires and petitions. Nevertheless, as a return for blessings asked, it is better first to practise three thousand goods and to make a vow that one will make requital for the blessings of the gods and Buddha. And from the day of the vow, one should meditate upon the numerous good deeds set forth in this record, and to the best of his activity perform good works; and every day, when going to bed, write down the good and evil of the day, according to the chart. On the first day of each month, one should appear before Buddha and make confession concerning the good and evil practised during the preceding month. Supposing that one had committed three evils; if also he had practised three goods, evil would be extinguished. Supposing he had practised five goods and committed five evils, then all the goods would be extinguished. Supposing that he had practised ten goods and committed eight evils, he would have only two goods to his credit. Though the good deed be one, if the result for good be three-fold, it should be reckoned as three goods. If the good result be five-fold, it should be reckoned as five goods, and so on.* Even if one good result in a hundred-fold good, it is to be reckoned as one hundred goods. In the case of evil, it is the same. ■ as it is set forth in the foregoing pages, calculation be made, in the space of three years or five years or seven years or ten years, one can mature the root of merit to the extent of three thousand goods. If the purposes indeed be sincere, even though the three thousand goods be not fully realized, one's desires will be fulfilled. If these three thousand goods be presented to Buddha, as a thank offering, then after his desire is granted, he will be stimulated to a quick and rapid realization of the three thousand goods. After the three thousand goods have been realized, then one should seek enlightenment and say mass before Buddha.

* The reference is to *indirect* results of a good deed.

Enryokan said, "When I met Unkokue Zenji, he said, 'Fate (Tenmei) should be determined by self. All misfortune and good fortune should be sought in the self. The fate predetermined in a former life is changed through one's actions in the present life, and, as a consequence, fate will become changed and will bestow happiness or misery. There is no fate which is not determined by our conduct, whether good or evil. Therefore, this volume on the rules of merits and faults is presented to you with the desire that your past sins will be confessed, that you may do good hereafter, that in everything patience may be exercised, and that you may learn how to govern your soul. I fully believed and accepted the volume. First of all, I made a vow and I performed the three thousand good acts and attained to the realization of the great prayer. And after performing an additional three thousand good deeds, though by my physiognomy, I was to be without offspring, my son, Tenki was born. After I had practised ten thousand good deeds, I was made governor of the prefecture of Itochi. Though by my fortune, I should have lived only fifty-three years, I am still robust at seventy. This is wholly because my heart has been sincere and my heart prayers have been unshakable. How many hundreds have carried into practice these rules laid down in this book! How many families have obtained riches, it would be impossible to know! Heaven and hell do not swerve in the slightest from the rules and consequences laid down concerning faults and virtues. In other words, this record of virtues and faults is a kind of Creator which brings misfortune and dispenses happiness like a God.

4. This record of virtues and faults gleamed to me with light in the night time. Its written characters were luminous like gold and silver in my dreams. Consequently, a second child was born to me. Besides, other things in which it has been efficacious are too numerous to mention."

5. If one in a single day accumulates ten or more virtues and continues for a half month in this manner with singleness of heart, and if without weariness the good be pursued, in addition to the proportionate number of merits,

one will have to his credit, ten additional meritorious marks. This is an expression of the great value to be attached to genuine goodness and to deeds of perseverance. Therefore, during this time, if even for one day or two days, there be indolence and neglect, at the end of a half month, there will be no extra merit to one's credit. If there be an average of ten merits per day, then at the end of the month, including the additional increase, there will be three hundred and twenty merits. If there be certain goods which have ten or twenty merits because of their manifoldness, within the course of a year, six or seven thousand merits should be accumulated. Thus the accumulation of good is a very easy thing. But evil also is deserving of serious consideration because a slight mistake is certainly productive of faults. It is necessary to be particular and discriminative in the matter of evil as well as in that of good.

6. The accumulation of good is by daily practice and as it can be done without money and without price (gold and silver) a poor man or woman can easily perform good deeds.

7. To exhort masters and lords and parents and cause them to do good is to perform ten goods. To do this in the case of an ordinary man is one good. The difference in merit between these two grows out of the fact that parents and lords look upon those under them lightly and it is more difficult therefore to persuade these to do good than it is with persons who are one's equals.

8. Extreme forms of vice and cruelty practised are so vile as not to admit of definite estimation. Such practice is not to be found among those who have sufficient personal character to read this book and receive profit from it. Therefore no record is made of deeds of this nature.

9. Renchi Daishi said, "The present Kwokakaku, as regards its efficacy, has reference to present rewards. But recompense in the world to come is also acquired though it cannot be estimated."

10. In the foregoing discussion a hundred sen has been mentioned in connection with one good or one fault. The Teacher, Sorai, said, "In the currency in the Eiraku reign a hundred mon was equal in value to five hundred mon in the present currency." As regards the unit in quantities of silk, pongee, linen, cotton etc., the value is to be estimated according to the price of each of these.

11. It being difficult to estimate the good and evil on a common basis of such different classes as the rich and poor, priests and laymen, it has not been undertaken here further than has already been given. Yet eight full classifications of goods and faults in accordance with the plan of the original have been translated without interjecting the translator's personal opinion. The lightness and gravity of good and evil are truly determined by the law of heaven (Tendo). These are not to be a matter of careless thinking.

Those who use this record of virtues and faults, by looking at it daily will be able to distinguish their merits and faults. If anything has been overlooked in this record, it should be specified in writing. At the end of the month, the goods and the faults should be compared to see which preponderates. The same is to be done at the end of a year.

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APPENDIX

Those who put this plan into practice should put down in the diagram the good and evil of the day. They should sum it up at the end of the month showing which preponderates. An account of conduct should be rendered at the end of a year. Thus one can know his own sins and his own happiness. If the goods accumulated be found to reach five hundred points or as many as twenty thousand, then one's prayers and hopes will certainly meet with satisfaction.

Among those who are Tathag-tas, there is no distinction between good and evil. Nevertheless, evil is contradictory to self-nature and good is that which harmonizes with self-nature. Therefore, without distinction the rich and poor, old and young, whether they know this principle or not, are unable to escape in their practice the laws of retribution. Those who are using this volume in practice constitute a large number. In response to a request from the book sellers this year, a new edition revised with illustrations for the amusement of boys and girls to keep them from crying has been prepared to be used to reduce evil and to promote good.

Kansei Reign, the Monkey year (1799—1800), January,
Shamon Genmu.

(THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF JAPAN*

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The appearance of these two books from the English press has enabled the interested public to supply itself with a fairly complete history of the political progress of Japan during the last sixty years. These two monographs complement each other, for the first ends with 1871 and the second practically begins with that year.

I.

Mr. Gubbins has furnished the student of Japanese history with a definitive study of a short but extremely difficult period. Anyone who reads his pages cannot but conceive the wish that he may continue his work so as to make it cover the whole of the Meiji era. That wish is intensified by the knowledge that there are very few foreigners who possess such qualifications for the task of writing the political history of Meiji,—a thorough knowledge of the colloquial and written languages, and a long familiarity with the men who have ruled the country. Moreover Mr. Gubbins has demonstrated in this volume a first-rate capacity for arranging and presenting historical materials, and for generalising from the facts in a sensible fashion.

His book comprises seven chapters, twenty-three appendices containing a selection from the most important documents of the period, a short bibliography, not of much use to the general reader, a glossary, and a map of Japan. There is no index. His point of departure is the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853. The main part of the book, chapters

* Gubbins, J. H., C. M. G. *The Progress of Japan, 1853-1871*. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1911. 323 pp. and Map.

Uehara, G. E., D. Sc. *The Political Development of Japan, 1868-1908*. London. Constable & Co., Ltd. 1910. XXVI & 296 pp.

III, IV, and V, contains a critical narrative of the events which occurred in Japan between 1853 and 1867. The main object of these chapters is to explain why and by what means the opening of the country was the immediate cause of the Restoration. Chapter VI shows the relation of cause and effect between the Restoration and the abolition of feudalism. Chapter II gives a record of the negotiations which resulted in the first treaties made with the foreign powers, prefaced by a historical review of the Tokugawa policy of seclusion. Chapter I is devoted to a description of the civilisation of Japan and the administration of the government in the middle of the nineteenth century. The author's general conclusions are brought together in a short concluding chapter.

To give a more definite idea of the writer's views a selection may be made from his most important statements:—First, that the power of the Shogunate had already begun to decline before Perry's arrival, and when faced by the situation created by the intrusion of the foreigners, the Shogun's government acknowledged its inability to deal with the crisis by referring the matter to the Court, and by asking the advice of the feudal lords.* Second, that the ultimate consequence of the confessed impotence of the Shogunate to perform the functions of government was the restoration to the Emperor and the Court of the administrative power;† Third, that a national government, highly centralised in an absolute monarch, was incompatible with the continuation of the feudal régime;‡ Fourth, that the policy of national seclusion adopted by the Shogunate in 1636 had never been complete, since relations with the Chinese and Dutch had continued unbroken throughout the whole Tokugawa period, and that the policy was more and more relaxed after 1806, and was finally abandoned under pressure from the United States of America.§

As this monograph deals only with the period which preceded the agitation for popular government, the author

* pp. 90-91.

† pp. 154.

‡ pp. 205-06.

§ pp. 51-58, 111.

is not required to express any opinion upon modern political problems. He is interested only in a period which has already been consigned to oblivion by the Japanese, partly — a consequence of the pressure of the more urgent questions of the present, partly because those were the days of small things, before the nation had attained its present exalted position in the comity of the powers. The events of the Restoration period are regarded now as incidents in the history of the nation, which were the inevitable and moreover highly desirable consequences of the operation of forces, the most powerful of which had long been at work. Just as the philosophical basis of the French Revolution is to be found in the writings of Montesquieu and Rousseau, so that of the Japanese Restoration is in the *Dai Nihon Shi* completed in 1715, and the *Nihon Gwaishi* and *Nihon Seiki* published in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Such are Mr. Gubbins' views, and he presents them in such a way as to create upon the reader a very welcome feeling of finality. It hardly seems possible that further research will throw much more light on the Restoration period, except perhaps on its intellectual side.

This book can hardly hope to become popular, but it will earn a distinction, which the author will more highly prize, in being the recognised authority in the English language upon the period with which it deals. To foreigners the story of the early relations between the representatives of the powers and the Japanese officials and people will always have a romantic interest. But for that story the ordinary reader had better turn to older and more popular books, to Griffis' "Townshend Harris," Allcock's, "Capital of the Tycoon," or Adams' "History of Japan."

II.

Dr. Uyehara's book is designed to give a constitutional history of the Meiji era, and to examine critically the political institutions of present day Japan. Making all due allowance for its defects this book may be very highly recom-

mended to the general reader. It is interesting and what is more to the point it leaves a very strong impression that the Japanese system of government is far from satisfactory to the people who live under it. Its tone is perhaps too pessimistic, but it would have been difficult for an intelligent Japanese to have adopted any other in 1909. If the discussion of electoral and parliamentary corruption appears too cynical, again, excuses may be made for the writer's attitude of mind.

Turning first to the defects. Our author is virtually a pioneer in his field, and as a consequence his work may be expected to exhibit the defects which are incident to all such efforts. That he should have been content to merely mention the system of local government in connection with his reference to the enormous powers of the Minister of the Interior, and omit the whole of the long and interesting history of those institutions, was probably the result of deficient research. To the same source may be traced the faults of arrangement. Parts II and III ought to have been consolidated, for the dividing line between them is made to follow a purely arbitrary distinction between theory and practice. Thus the first chapter of Part II is entitled "The Emperor within the Constitution," and the corresponding chapter in Part III is "The Constitutional Monarchy." In the same way what he has to say about the Diet, the Cabinet, and Elections is divided into two sections, one supposedly theoretical and the other practical. The advantage of divorcing the theory from the practice of politics is very doubtful, for it is next to impossible to treat the two phases separately. However this defect is not fatal, it only makes it a little more difficult for the reader to get a clear comprehension of the subject. There is not the slightest danger that any reader should misunderstand the author's main criticism of Japan's system of government, viz., its failure to satisfy the people, or fail to grasp clearly the reason for that failure, the essentially oligarchical nature of the government.

Among the defects might be mentioned the complete absence of constructive criticism. The deficiencies of the

institutions are made abundantly manifest but the methods of reform are not explicitly stated. Obviously the author wishes to see the power of the *clans* diminished, and the electorate and the Diet purged of corruption, but he suggests no method for accomplishing either of these ends. To him the whole system is an intricate machine cunningly devised for the purpose of exaggerating the service of the clan magnates, and discrediting the popular element in the government.

Whether or not this misfortune must be classed along with the defects, it is certain that the events of the last year have done much to make the book antiquated. Just as the Parliament Act of 1911 has made necessary a revision of large sections of the standard books on the government of England, so the political crisis of 1912-13 has produced a situation in Japan which is not even hinted at in Dr. Uyehara's book. In the light of what has recently happened it becomes necessary to modify many of our author's judgments upon *clannism*, the powers of the Diet and the political parties, in order to represent the present hopeful prospects for the realisation of popular government.

In this same doubtful category the introductory chapters must be placed; whether or not they constitute a defect can be left for the reader to determine. At any rate the speculations in which the writer here indulges and the conclusions to which he comes need not be taken seriously. The reviewer is under the impression that the Introduction is merely an old class-room essay slightly revamped, but still bearing on its face all the signs of the unsophisticated ideas of youth. It is distinctly inferior in matter to the main body of the book.

Let us turn away from the defects, and it almost seems like ingratitude to have delayed so long over them, especially as this book contains so much that is enlightening. Part I begins with a review of the events which led up to the Restoration and the subsequent centralising of the government. As this is the period which Mr. Gubbins has covered with great minuteness it is not to be expected that Dr. Uyehara's chapter would contain anything more than a brief

summary. But brief as it is the author gets into his stride from the outset. The abolition of feudalism is explained as the result of the shrewdness of Kido, Okubo, and Saigo, who worked upon the sentimentality of the great western *daimios*, at the "psychological moment," and persuaded them to surrender their fiefs to the Emperor. That surrender was promptly accepted, and made the basis for an imperial Order demanding a similar surrender from all the other *daimios*.

For bald matter-of-factness the concluding chapter of Part I almost reaches the limit. The Constitution, which in Ito's Commentaries is represented as the embodiment not of earthly wisdom but of heavenly as well, is shown to have been drafted by a committee of four, to have been approved by the Privy Council, and finally promulgated by the Emperor. From first to last the provisions of the Constitution were never seen or discussed publicly, popular feeling was not consulted; it was a case of a governing class, satisfying a popular demand for a constitution by creating an instrument, the effect of which was to still more firmly entrench their own position, and at the same time disarming all criticism by representing the constitution as the creation of divine wisdom. This refreshing view of the framing of the Constitution will help to confirm and at the same time explain the impression which is almost certain to be made on the mind of any one who reads it; and, moreover, will assist the student of Japanese politics to understand a large number of political incidents which were hitherto inexplicable.

In Part II the theory of the Constitution is discussed, and in Part III the Government in actual operation is described. It is impossible to deal with all the important statements made in the nine chapters which are comprised in these two Parts. It may be sufficient to say that the Constitution is critically analysed, and all its main clauses frankly discussed. It is abundantly clear that the author entertains no illusions as to the perfection of the document. In the same sophisticated spirit the constitutional history

of the second half of Meiji is narrated in Part III. What our author has to say about the Diet and the political parties makes it plain that he is speaking from a knowledge only to be gained by abundant research. Chapter III of this Part contains a succinct review of the history of the Diet, which is not to be found anywhere else. After reading the narrative one wonders at the tenacity of the oligarchy in holding on to power the exercise of which is attended with such constant difficulty. Apart from the amount of information concerning the various Ministries and parties and their operations in and out of the Diet, Dr. Uyebara has performed a valuable service to Japanese politicians by pointing out the fact that the political parties in opposition to the Government have always pursued a course marked by wanton hostility. To embarrass, obstruct and destroy all Ministries has been their aim. It is true that there is an explanation for such a policy in the existing system for the opponents of the official class can never hope to come into power. There being no possibility of holding the reins of government the Opposition has no fear that it will ever have to explain or justify or carry out as the Government those policies which it adopted while out of power. Nothing could be more unfortunate than the situation thus created both for the Government and the Opposition, for both alike are prevented from exercising their proper functions. The Ministry is never free to adopt policies for the sake of principle, it must always truckle to or bribe the Opposition, and the latter is never under the necessity of having any policy at all.

The concluding chapter of the book describes the peculiar character of Japanese parliamentary elections, and attempts to account for the almost universal corruption which exists on such occasions. Again the system is made the excuse for the venality of the electorate. The voter does not understand the franchise he exercises, he feels that the parties in the Diet have very little power, that the Government rules in spite of them, and he is unable to see why men should be anxious to obtain seats in an institution, unless

it be to obtain thereby some material advantage. The electors are therefore naturally desirous of obtaining a share in that advantage, and their only way of doing so is to accept payment for their votes.

The general impression left upon the reader by this book is very similar to that derived from the perusal of the history of politics in England in the first half of the eighteenth century. One's first thought is that the situation is hopeless, that Japan faces either a return to bureaucratic despotism or an approaching revolution. But reflection upon the political development of other countries soon shows the reader that Japan is merely floundering in a transitional stage out of which she is likely to emerge safely in the near future. Changes of a radical nature will have to be made in the fundamental instrument, the Constitution, and the present impossible system, which is merely a compromise of the worst type, will have to be given up, and in its place a "Responsible Ministry" established.

III.

A general election took place in May 1903, the result of which was to return the Seiyukai (Constitutional party) with a majority, 209 out of the 379 members of the Lower House. Naturally it might have been supposed that the Saionji cabinet supported by the Seiyukai would continue long in office, but on the contrary the government collapsed suddenly in the first week of July, not two months after the election. The reason given for the resignation of the cabinet was the Premier's ill-health, but the real explanation was the pressure exerted by the "Genro" at the instance of Marquis Katsura. The people accepted the change of government with scarcely a murmur; there seemed nothing unusual about it, and besides the Saionji cabinet in its post-bellum finance had been a complete failure. The second Katsura ministry took office in July, with the Prime Minister playing the double rôle of Minister President and Minister of Finance. At the close of the year the annual session of

the Diet was convened, and in order that the government might have adequate support in the Lower House an agreement to that end was made with the Seiyukai. It was during this otherwise uneventful session that the Sugar Scandal, the last event mentioned by Dr. Uyehara, was brought to light. The next two sessions of the Diet, those of 1909-10 and 1910-11, passed off quietly, the Seiyukai still supporting the government. In these sessions there was a definite arrangement between the cabinet and the party with regard to the projects of legislation which the government should introduce. In this way the Seiyukai attempted to placate its supporters in the country, for it could point to various bills which it had forced the government to postpone or withdraw altogether, and best of all to the slight reduction of the land tax, ($\frac{3}{8}\%$) which the party had wrung from the government in the session of 1909-10. Thus the party attempted to efface the stain of the Sugar Scandal, and to dispel the suspicions of the public that its support had been purchased by the government by a generous distribution of funds among its members. Nevertheless, it was generally believed in Tokyo at any rate that the members of the party were enriching themselves by accepting favors from the government. That such was the case was demonstrated in 1911, when a valuable franchise for the supply of electric light in the capital was granted to certain prominent members of the Seiyukai. When the prospectus of the new company appeared with Seiyukai partymen in all the prominent offices, the indignation of the press was so loudly expressed that the list of officers and directors was hastily withdrawn, and the names of well-known business men substituted.

What the Seiyukai had done during these three years of the second Katsura government was just what might have been expected, and what Dr. Uyehara points out as inevitable under the system in vogue.* The rank and file of the party had consulted their own interests during the first year after the election of 1908, but the storm which had

* *op. cit.* pp. 253-54.

arisen and the suspicions which had been created by the disclosures in connection with the Sugar Scandal compelled greater caution thereafter. Then, too, as the next general election approached the country had to be convinced of the usefulness of the party, so increasingly harder bargains were driven with the government in the second and third sessions of the Diet. As part of the annual arrangement between the two, the party demanded, in addition to personal favors, either the passage of an occasional measure in the public interest, or for the same reason the withdrawal of other projects. It was an opportunist program, pure and simple, and while not inspiring, at least the party's policy preserved the political peace, and staved off the dissolution of the Diet, which would most certainly have ensued if the Seiyukai had grappled seriously with the government.

In August the Katsura government resigned, though it is difficult to understand why, unless the growing hostility of the press and the people be taken as an explanation. It may have been a case of mere weariness coupled with the desire for rest after a sustained effort of three years' duration. The Prime Minister acknowledged that the people *seemed* to be tired of him, and being well pleased with the results of office, and doubtless thinking that it would be an easy matter to get in again, he withdrew graciously in the public interest.

But the significance of these three years is not to be found in the coming and going of ministers, nor the policies of parties, nor the sessions of the Diet, but in the steady rise to political consciousness of the middle class. As in many another country, taxation has been the amalgam that has collected the scattered units of public opinion in this nation. It is safe to say that the failure of the government to effect any real improvement of the financial situation will be regarded in the future as the ultimate cause of the recent political crisis. Except for the slight reduction of the land tax already mentioned, nothing was done to lighten the burdens upon the people, the objectionable war taxes were allowed to remain in force, and apart from the matter of such specific

levies, the general system of taxation, which offends against every canon of political science, as may be seen by a glance at the business and the income taxes, was not reformed. The national debt was not reduced, but rather increased in amount, for the 50,000,000 yen annually appropriated for the redemption of the foreign debt was more than offset by domestic loans. Moreover, the holders of the national bonds found the value of their investments shrinking as the result of a conversion to a four percent basis. In effecting the conversion the banks were more or less crippled by being compelled to underwrite and hold large amounts of the new low interest bonds, the investor preferring to take cash for his holdings rather than renew at the reduced rate of interest. The indirect taxes were also increased by the new tariff of customs duties which came into force in 1911.

The new Saionji cabinet came into office in August 1911, with only three of its members belonging to the Seiyukai party, the other members of the government representing the military clans or the business interests. By far the most interesting figure in the ministry was Yamamoto Tatsuo in the Department of Finance, interesting not only because he occupied the post which had ruined the reputation of all the men who had held it since the Russian war, but because he was no politician, having come into the cabinet from the presidency of the Hypothec Bank. Throughout the short life of the government he remained the storm centre and the cynosure of all eyes. To begin with, he alarmed the nation and the foreign bondholders by uttering in the Diet a solemn warning to the effect that the national finances were in a precarious condition, and that retrenchment and readjustment were the only means of avoiding bankruptcy. From the shock which followed this pronouncement the Japanese people soon recovered, and even the confidence of the foreign bondholders quickly revived when it was seen that no defaulting was intended. Nevertheless London, if the *Times* may be allowed to speak for that city, preferred Katsura's obscurantist finances and his specious policies, no loans, no

new taxes, 50,000,000 a year for amortisation of the foreign debt, and a specie reserve in London.

The ultimate goal as it appeared to Yamamoto was to put the national finances on a sound basis, by encouraging the productive activities of the people to such an extent as to bring about an equilibrium of receipts and expenditures, by making the excess of exports over imports large enough to pay the interest on the foreign portion of the national debt with the produce of the country, and not, as hitherto, with specie borrowed in Europe and held in the Bank of England. To accomplish this end, the Finance Minister declared he was willing to adopt every legitimate means. He said plainly that if capital for the further development of the resources of Japan could not be obtained within the country, he saw no serious objection to borrowing from abroad; also that the allotment of so large a sum annually for the redemption of the bonds held in Europe, when money was needed so urgently at home, seemed nonsense. His whole policy was based on the principle that the interests of the Japanese people should be considered first, and that the road to solvency lay along the development of the productive industries and the export trade, whereas Katsura's policy had been to placate the foreign bondholder and thus to dull the edge of European suspicions as to the soundness of the financial condition of Japan.

Thus for the first time in many a year an attempt was made to explain to the people not only the intricacies of the budget but the basic principles of public finance, so as to make the whole subject intelligible to the average understanding. It was this action on the part of the Finance Minister, his taking the general public into his confidence that did so much to create an intelligent interest in politics. Moreover, with free speaking among the members of the cabinet was combined a similar liberty among the people and the press. The embargo on the discussion of political topics having been raised, opinions of all sorts were promptly vented, to the great advantage of all sections of the reading public.

The immediate object to be attained seemed to Yamamoto a reduction of expenditures, and with the money thus saved a beginning upon the readjustment of taxation. With this in view, and at his instigation the Saionji cabinet organised a bureau, with the Premier as chairman, to investigate all departmental accounts. From time to time the Bureau reported progress, and the prospects seemed hopeful for the people's obtaining some relief from their burdens. During the early months of 1912, outside the Army and Navy circles, the feeling was one of sympathy and support for the government in its undertaking. The press diligently supported the project, and performed an immense service in educating the popular mind in the art of public finance and in strengthening the government's hands. Only the few Japanese who understood their system of government knew that the project was almost certain to be abortive owing to the peculiar powers of the military party, on principle opposed to retrenchment.

In the midst of this activity the ordinary general election came on in May, and the Seiyukai went to the country on the government's program. The Opposition, the Kokuminto, adopted a so-called positive program, the two main items of which were naval expansion and a strong foreign policy. The appeal was of course to the Satsuma clan interests in particular, and to all the latent Chauvinistic feeling among the people. But a general election* in Japan in the main is a business proposition not a political one, and a candidate depends more upon bribery for his success than upon his party's program. In his particular election district the candidate finds out how many votes are necessary to secure his seat, and then sets about getting the necessary quantum. To nearly all the electors he appeals personally, and those who will not vote for him upon sentimental grounds, he buys. The average price of a vote is five yen and the average cost of an election ten thousand yen, though the maximum is as much as fifty or sixty thousand.†

* Uythara, *op. cit.* pp. 264 ff.

† Japan Year Book, 1912, p. 503.

The result of the election of 1912 was the return of the Seiyūkai with a slight increase of strength, and with a considerable margin over all other parties in the House. The Kokuminto held its own. But it is impossible to attach much importance to the result of a general election, in any attempt to determine the feeling of the country toward the government. In the first place elections are notoriously corrupt,* and in the second the electorate is very limited, only about one person in forty having the right to vote.

After the election the government went on with its plans for the retrenchment of administrative expenses, and practically nothing else was discussed in the press. But in July the Emperor fell ill and died after a few weeks, and this untoward event and the state funeral which followed absorbed public attention during August and the first half of September. A small counter sensation, however, had been created by Prince Katsura, who happened, through no effort on his part, to be brought very much into prominence. He had gone to Europe on what was ostensibly a pleasure trip, —afterwards seen to be a political mission to St. Petersburg, —but was hastily recalled by the Emperor's illness, and arrived home some days after the Imperial demise, only to find himself the victim of an intrigue. On the very day of his return he was appointed Court Chamberlain and Keeper of the Privy Seal, and thus was shelved for the time being. What this curious appointment meant, who was responsible for it, and what the Prince thought of it was talked of so much, that to silence the press Katsura made public his determination to quit politics forever and become the personal adviser of the young Emperor.

By the end of September affairs had settled back into their old routine, and the government went on with its cherished plans. From this time on the sequence of events is plain enough, but causes are still shrouded in mystery. What is absolutely certain is the development of a determined intrigue to get the government out. Prince Yama-

* Uyehara, *op. cit.* Part III, Chap. IV, for a sensible discussion of the problem of electoral corruption.

gata is credited with a plan to oust the Saionji cabinet and substitute a clan ministry under General Terauchi, but if he had any such intention the essential part of it miscarried. On the other hand Prince Katsura's henchmen were privately making it known that their master would be Prime Minister before the end of the year. But the general public knew nothing of these intrigues until difficulties suddenly loomed up before the government. For a time no one recognised the possibilities of the cloud, the question of the two army divisions for Korea, which had appeared on the horizon. It grew larger and larger during November and finally the deluge came in the first week of December, and the government was swept out of office.

Why the Saionji cabinet was forced to resign is a matter which requires explanation. The Constitution provides for the independence of each member of the cabinet,* and there are certain permanent regulations of the Privy Council which limit the candidates for the cabinet offices of the Army and Navy to high officers in active service, so when General Uchihara, the Minister of War, resigned because his colleagues in the cabinet would not accede to the demands of the Army for additional two divisions, the cabinet was left in a crippled condition. Saionji's difficulty was to secure a successor to Uchihara in the War Office, but as the Army refused to supply a qualified candidate except on its own terms, and as no civilian is eligible, there was nothing left for the cabinet but resignation. By means of the Constitution and the regulations of the Privy Council, it is possible for the military clans to oust any cabinet from office. This fact furnished in part the explanation of Prince Katsura's willingness in 1911 to go out of office, and also the impossibility of setting up a straight party government, no matter how strongly supported by the representatives of the Diet.

After Saionji's resignation the work of forming a new government was taken in hand by the "Genro," and for

* Article LV. *

three weeks the cabinet-making process went on, amidst a perfect storm of popular indignation. The press did not confine itself to ridiculing the various shifts of the clan magnates, nor to abusing the "Genro," but discussed with an admirable grasp of the subject the larger constitutional questions involved in the overthrow of the government. The two chief political parties united for the time being against the clans, and their spokesmen displayed an amazing activity and boldness in discussing, before large audiences, in all the principal cities of the country, the defects of the national system of government. Ozaki, Inukai and a host of others exposed the secret machinery of the clan system so cunningly devised to keep the military party in power. So far as they went, they pointed out clearly the nature of the devices of the clansmen, and the methods by which such devices can be used to retard the growth of popular government. That they did not go far enough I propose to show later in this review.

It was in the midst of this whirlwind that Prince Katsura and the members of his cabinet were sworn in on the 21st. of December, 1912. From the first day it was evident that the Premier had difficulties to face other than those created by the Seiyukai. In order to form his ministry it had been necessary to issue an Imperial order to Admiral Saito commanding him to retain his office as Minister of the Navy. The significance of that rescript was not immediately perceived, for on the one hand, a companion rescript ordering Katsura to form a government absorbed all attention, and on the other, a mere suspicion that the clans had fallen out was not enough to offset the precedents of twenty years of close union. Hence for nearly a month the orators of the Seiyukai and Kokuminto, and the press continued to denounce the clan system, until other events proved that for the time being the system had fallen to pieces as the result of internal dissensions.

In due course on the 25th December the Diet met to organise for the work of the session, and, as is customary, adjourned immediately for the New Year recess to meet

again on the 20th of January. As a proof of its hostility to the new ministry the Seiyukai refused to extend the holiday till the 5th February as the government desired. When the day for reassembling came the Seiyukai leaders presented the Premier with a long list of questions, which he refused to answer until after the budget had been printed and brought down. Since they persisted in demanding an immediate reply the Premier postponed the meeting by Imperial order for fifteen days. It was at this time that the Opposition turned from their denunciation of the clan system to a personal attack upon the Prime Minister, the main reason for this change being Katsura's sudden repudiation of the system, and his professed intention to transform himself into a party politician. On the 21st of January he launched his party and invited members of the Diet to join him. His action the Opposition parties rightly interpreted as an attempt to break their strength, and as a measure of self-defence they began a terrific onslaught upon their opponent.

The cabinet resorted to every device in its extensive repertory to build up a party, and succeeded in getting together between eighty and ninety supporters, drawn from the Chuo Club, the Independents, the Kokuminto and the Seiyukai. It is to the everlasting credit of the latter that so few of its members yielded to the temptation put in their way. But with the Kokuminto the case was entirely different. That party was split in two, all its leaders except Inukai and half of the rank and file deserting to the government. Nevertheless when the 5th February came the government found itself in a hopeless position. The House of Peers met in the morning, the Minister President outlined the government's policies, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Finance also spoke and the meeting went off smoothly enough. But by the afternoon, when the House of Representatives convened, a great crowd had collected and surrounded the Diet buildings. These spectators, though well behaved were a source of strength to the Opposition and of terror to the government. As the "stalwarts" arrived at the House they received an ovation, but the deserters met with jeers; no

one had any reason for misjudging the temper of the crowd or its sympathies. Meantime within the House Ozaki Yukio was put up to impeach the Premier, which he did to the entire satisfaction of all the enemies of the government, and concluded by reading a resolution of want of confidence signed by two hundred and thirty nine members of the House. Before a division could be taken an Imperial order was received by the President of the House commanding an immediate adjournment for a further space of three days. From this time on matters only grew worse for the government. It was impossible to get any more recruits for its party, for the fear of the crowd had entered into every heart. A reign of terror had been instituted in the capital, against which the police were powerless. When the 10th of February brought another meeting of the House, again the crowds assembled, anti-government riots broke out, and the government resigned. Thus Prince Katsura, the self-proclaimed "last of the bureaucrats," the "convert to party government", went down amidst a storm of execration. He had demonstrated that a strong man could form a ministry in spite of the opposition of the clans and the people, but his overthrow likewise proved that no government can remain long in office in the face of the hostility of a determined majority of the House of Representatives. It was a triumph of the Seiyukai backed by the populace of Tokyo over a dictator who had set himself up in opposition to all the constituted forces of clans and parties and announcing that he would "run the show with his own capital," as a translation from a vernacular paper reported him.

It is too early yet to be certain of the details of the intrigues which resulted in setting up the third Katsura government, but it is fairly obvious that in the process Choshu and Satsuma fell out, and, moreover, that Katsura and his quondam chief, Prince Yamagata, parted company. The most conspicuous feature was the emergence of Katsura, and his subsequent fall has resulted for the time being in the eclipse of the Choshu faction. Although the meeting of the "Genro," which was held on the 11th of February,

was attended by only three of its members, two of whom were Choshu men, yet no attempt was made to call in another Choshu clansman, but Admiral Yamamoto, the Satsuma leader, was immediately put forward as the next Prime Minister. It is very clear that whatever Katsura might have accomplished by way of shelving the "Genro" and abolishing the clan influences, with his downfall these long established forces exerted themselves again, the only difference being that Satsuma, not Choshu, occupied the leading position.

This brings us to the last phase of the situation. When Admiral Yamamoto was put forward by the "Genro" to succeed Katsura, the Seiyukai and the faithful remnant of the Kokuminto found themselves face to face with a new difficulty. What attitude should they assume toward the new Prime Minister? Without their support he could not go on, but on the other hand, it was well known that Satsuma desired most fervently to pass the Katsura budget, because it provided a very welcome, if small, increase in the appropriation for the Navy. That increase the clan had wrung from Katsura as its price for allowing Admiral Saito to remain in his cabinet, and Satsuma had no thought of losing it, if it could be saved by any reasonable compromise with the Opposition. It was to save that increased appropriation that the Minister of the Navy had warded off a dissolution of the Diet on the 10th of February, for at that time Katsura had a choice between resignation and dissolution, and we may be certain that he would have preferred the latter course, and was only driven to the former by the pressure of the Satsuma party. To Satsuma, therefore, the Seiyukai owed a considerable debt of gratitude, since a dissolution would have entailed another expensive general election. But on the other hand, by joining the Satsuma cabinet the party would be doing exactly what its "stalwarts" had said they would not do, viz., bolstering up another clan government. The dilemma was solved, however, by a compromise, three members of the Seiyukai, Messrs. Hara, Matsuda, and Motoda, entering the Cabinet.

three other Ministers, Messrs. Takahashi, Okuda, and Yamamoto Tatsuo, coming into the party, and the four other portfolios being retained by non-party men, one from Choshu and three from Satsuma. Further a general understanding was reached that the government should adopt the policies of the Seiyukai. On this basis the Yamamoto cabinet took up office on the 21st of February. On the following day the "stalwarts" of the Seiyukai, twenty four in number, led by Messrs. Ozaki and Okazaki, left the party, and set up for themselves under the name "Seiyu Club."

Before proceeding to outline a plan of the constitutional changes which seem necessary, in order to bring to an end the unseemly political agitations which occur from time to time, it will help to a due appreciation of the present situation if a summary be made of the events which have taken place since 1911. The most important item of progress is the realisation by the representatives of the people that it is possible for them to destroy a ministry, even though it be headed by the strongest politician in the land, and the equally clear recognition of the impossibility of setting up a straight party government. There need be no longer any doubt as to what a party can or cannot do in its relations to the government of the day. In the next place, the *clan-system*, built upon the Constitution, has demonstrated its great strength, for it has survived a quarrel between the clans, and a popular assault that would have destroyed almost any political fabric, and stands intact and apparently impregnable. Further, the "Genro" have shown themselves almost as inviolable as the Emperor; having set up a Prime Minister, who is howled down in a month and a half, they immediately bring forward another, and their new nominee is straightway accepted. Moreover, the Constitution, even at the height of the recent excitement, was not only not called in question, but was appealed to by all the advocates of popular liberty. So far from being regarded as a stumbling block in the path of progress, it still holds its place as "an immutable code of laws." Lastly,

the formation of the Yamamoto cabinet is a proof that the military bureaucrats have triumphed, and all that has been accomplished by the most determined popular movement since the Restoration, is merely a change from one bureaucrat to another, from the domination of Choshu to that of Satsuma, from a policy of military to one of naval expansion.

IV.

No one who has followed the course of events during the last two years can withhold his admiration for the clan-system of government. Its strength is marvellous, a strength that depends not on men, but on traditions, on certain permanent regulations of the Privy Council, and on the Constitution. So firmly has the governing class entrenched itself, that the strongest combination of popular forces has recoiled from the attack without accomplishing anything. The traditions of government in a nation cannot, and perhaps ought not to be changed suddenly, but there is no such impossibility of change in connection with the arbitrary rules made by the governing class of one period, and it is in this connection that we address ourselves to the task of pointing out the course which seems to be necessary in the present, if there is to be any further constitutional progress.

If the Seiyukai in its present alliance with the Satsuma clan is to remain true to the interests of the people, it should demand the rescinding of the standing rule of the Privy Council which prevents a civilian from holding the cabinet offices of the Army and Navy. The expunging of that rule would deprive the clans of their power to destroy a non-clan ministry at any time, and would enable the Seiyukai or any other political party, with a working majority in the House of Representatives, to form a government, which would at least be free from the seeds of internal dissension. Even with civilians in the two military offices in the cabinet, a straight party ministry would have many enemies to face,

enemies in the House of Peers, in the Privy Council, and in the "Genro," all of them standing on the Constitution.

The second demand should be for the formulation by the cabinet of a project for amending the Constitution. Despite the fact that no such project has ever been mooted, and that the meagre provision for amendment¹ would make such a course difficult, yet if a cabinet were so minded, it would not find its task impossible. Just as the Constitution was drafted by a commission,² approved by the Privy Council, and promulgated by the Emperor, so its emendation would have to be undertaken by a commission whose function would be to draft the necessary changes, that draft would have to be approved by the Privy Council, sanctioned by the Emperor, and finally accepted by the two Houses of the Diet. The completion of all these stages could not be accomplished without opposition, but such opposition would in the long run be overborne, because it would arise mainly from the clans and the peers, from classes with class interests behind them.

But in what respects would the Constitution require amendment? It would not be necessary to make any changes in the first chapter, nor even in the language of the preamble. In all matters concerning the Emperor and his relation to the government, experience has shown that the Japanese have a remarkable faculty for saying one thing and doing another. A theory of absolute monarchy has always obtained, but whether before or later than the Restoration, no Japanese monarch has attempted, with success, to establish a personal government. The practice has always been to combine the divinely instituted monarchy with a machinery of government operated wholly by the people. It is unthinkable that a tradition of such age, coeval with the monarchy, could be or need be departed from. Hence it is a matter of indifference that the Constitution should retain a number of Articles which provide for a "divine

* Article LXXIII.

† Uyehara, *op. cit.* Part I, Chap. IV.

rights" monarch; the people care nothing about the name so long as they have the substance of power.

Similarly, chapter II, which defines the "Rights and Duties of Subjects", need not be changed in any respect, for the Articles do not confer any rights nor impose any duties upon the Japanese people, except those that are embodied in the laws, which may be changed at any time by the ordinary process of legislation.

Chapter III, which concerns the Imperial Diet, would have to be amended by changing or eliding some of the existing Articles and by the addition of some new ones. The first four Articles (~~XXXIII-XXXVII~~ inclusive) might stand as they are, for they merely prescribe the methods of organising the two Houses. The next four ~~XXXVII-XL~~ inclusive) which define the legislative powers of the Diet would require to be stated in a positive form, for a Parliament which merely consents to projects of law, in the main introduced by the government, cannot be said to be an active law-maker. An Article or a number of Articles would have to be added in order to provide machinery for overcoming deadlock arising as the result of the opposition of one House to the legislation of the other. Such devices exist in plenty now, for example in the Constitutions of France or the great self-governing colonies of Great Britain, Australia and the United States of South Africa. Article XLII which limits the duration of an ordinary session of the Diet to three months might be elided entirely. The purpose of this Article is merely to minimise the part which the Diet may play in controlling the government; it was introduced in the interests of the clan-system, and might well disappear along with the system. In so far as this Article operates to prevent obstruction to the budget that purpose could be effected by adding to the rules of the Houses provisions embodying the closure. The last Article of the chapter LIV, might be either dropped and so exclude the government from the Houses, as is the case in America, or changed so as to compel all members of the cabinet to be

members of one or other of the Houses, as in Great Britain. All the other Articles of the chapter might continue in their present form.

Chapter IV contains only two Articles, one of which stands in need of revision. The first clause of Article LV reads,—“The respective Ministers of State shall give their advice to the Emperor, and be responsible for it.” In this clause the doctrine of ministerial responsibility is definitely stated, and the direction of the Ministers’ responsibility is made clear, viz., to the Emperor. This clause should be changed to read,—“The Ministers of State shall give advice to the Emperor, and be responsible for it to the Imperial Diet.” Such an amendment would transform the whole system from the existing nominally personal government of the Emperor, though really by the clan magnates, to a popular government.

The remaining Articles of the Constitution might very well be left as they stand, to be modified as time goes by, either by those silent forces which wear away the rough edges of all constitutions, written or unwritten, or by subsequent projects of amendment. One can safely make large allowances for the operation of that most admirable trait of the Japanese character; call it the faculty of make-believe, or the instinct for distinguishing between the nominal and the real, or the ability to compromise, or whatever you will, but by whatever name it is called, it is nevertheless the distinguishing characteristic of a people capable of operating the machinery of government under a monarch.

The changes which have been suggested would be sufficient to ensure the gradual development of popular government. The rôle of the governing class would in time be played out, and the cabinet would come to assume the first place in law-making and administration, and would finally come to depend upon the support of the people as represented in the Lower House of the Diet, and not as at present, upon the “Genro.”

For the time being the two series of reforms mentioned above should be striven for by the Seiyukai, for they are

preliminary to the next step in advance. The present stage of political development seems to have come to an end, not because clan-government has been demolished, but because its very strength has placed an impossible barrier in the line of advance. The growth of popular opinion finds itself blocked on the political side, and that means that the old institutions will be more and more sharply questioned in the future. The "cake of custom" has already begun to exercise a repressing force, and with this nation, as with all others, either progress must cease or the confining bonds be broken. The former implies decadence, the latter revolution. Before the strain becomes too great *clannism* ought to disappear, and let the nation pass on toward the goal of all political progress, complete self-government.

In that progress there will arise a long succession of difficult problems demanding solution, but with a government resting upon the support of a politically free people, and led by a Monarch loyalty to whom is an article of faith, no problems need be feared. With its manhood preserved and developed by the free exercise of its faculties in all directions, no nation need dread what the future has in store.

OBITUARY

Rev. Daniel Crosby Greene, DD., LL.D.

Was a member of the Asiatic Society of Japan for about forty years, almost from its beginning, and a member of the Council for twenty years or so. He also served the Society most efficiently as both Vice-President and President. He contributed valuable papers to the Society's Transactions on such important subjects as "Tenrikyo," "Correspondence between William II of Holland and the Shogun of Japan," "Takano Nagahide," etc. His discussion of topics under consideration, whether from the chair or from the floor, was always illuminating.

Dr. Greene commended himself to all interested in the work of the Society as a fine scholar whose wide range of learning and profound knowledge was always at the public service. He was not at all superficial in his study, but was accustomed always to probe every subject to the very foundation. His prominently judicial mind was another asset of the greatest value in the investigation of any subject. Precision and clearness were two important elements in his style. Therefore, it was perfectly natural that Dr. Greene's contributions to this Society were of the highest order, and his death is truly an irreparable loss to this Society.

Professor Walter Dening

The Society has also to deplore the loss of an old and valued member in the person of the late Walter Dening, who came to Japan 40 years ago as a missionary of the Anglican Church, but who afterwards owing to a change in his opinions, became a strenuous worker in the fields of journalism and education. For the last 18 years of his life

he was teacher of English at the High School of Sendai, and during most of that period he regularly contributed to the "Japan Mail" Monthly Summaries of Japanese Literature and also of the Japanese Religious Press. He was a most diligent student of anything that interested him, especially the Japanese language and the Japanese people. He was indefatigable in his studies of Japanese psychology and mental progress, and he enriched the Asiatic Society by his contributions, which were given in the order named:

Modern Translations into Sinico-Japanese, The Gakushikaiin, The Japanese Education Society, Mental Characteristics of the Japanese, Confucian Philosophy in Japan, and (his latest), Japanese Modern Literature, the last named having been published only a few months ago.

Professor Edward Divers

Prof. Edward Divers, M.D., D. Sc., F.R.S., born in 1837 came to Japan in 1873 as Professor of Chemistry in the Engineering College of Tokyo of which in 1882 he became principal. Later he was Professor of Chemistry in the Imperial University in Tokyo. His was a master mind in Chemistry and he did most valuable work for the Japanese nation in training many of her sons in that branch of knowledge. After his return to England he was successively Vice-President of the Chemical Society, President of the Chemical Section of the British Association, Vice-President of the Institute of Chemistry and President of the Society of Chemical Industry. Japan was indeed fortunate in having such an original and gifted mind to direct her early students in this very important field of learning. His pupils and friends have erected a permanent memorial in the Imperial University where his memory is still cherished. As far back as 1880 he was President of the Asiatic Society of Japan and besides making some few contributions, played an important part in the early years of the Society.

Captain A. R. Brown

Captain A. R. Brown rendered valuable service to Japan in the early days of her mercantile marine and external commerce. To Volume III of the Asiatic Society's Transactions he contributed a paper on "Winds and Currents in the Vicinity of the Japanese Islands."

Dr. Edwin Baelz

Dr. Edwin Baelz's name was for years a household word to very many in Japan, both of those born in the land and of those who sojourned here. Born 18th January, 1849, in Württemberg, Germany, he died 31st August 1913 in Stuttgart. For 27 years, 1876 to 1903, he held the chair of Medicine in the principal Medical College of Tokyo, after the affiliation in 1886, the Medical College of the Tokyo Imperial University, and thus became a veritable father to the Japanese doctors of to-day. As private physician to the Imperial House he exercised considerable influence in the upbringing of the present Emperor; as physician to the various Legations and Embassies he came into touch personally and professionally with individuals of various nationalities; his friendship and companionship endeared him to many besides his own countrymen. Many of the results of his researches are published in the Volumes of the German Asiatic Society of Japan. They embraced not only medical but also ethnological and anthropological subjects. Even his recreations, Art and Archaeology, furnished matter for learned contributions. Three important works may be mentioned specifically namely;

"The Cause and Cure of Beri-beri."

"A Text-Book on Medicine."

"An Investigation into the bodily Characteristics of the Japanese."

To the Asiatic Society's Transactions he made no contribution but for many years did valuable service as an active official and energetic member of its Council.

Prof. John Milne, F.R.S., D.Sc., (Oxon), F.G.S.

Professor Milne who may be described as one of the fathers of Seismology contributed what are still among the most interesting scientific articles in the Transactions.

Vol. VII Part 1. Journey across Europe and Asia.

VIII Part 1. Stone implements at Otaru and Hakodate.

IX Part 1. Evidences of Glacial Period in Japan.

X Part 2. Pit Dwellers of Yezo and the Kuriles.

XXII Part 3. Movements of the Earth's Crust.

Dr. Milne was born in 1850 and spent twenty years of his life in Japan. He founded the Seismological Society and established the Seismic Survey of Japan with 968 stations. After his return to the home land he established for the British Association the Seismic Survey of the World. In addition he is well known as the designer of Seismographs and Railway Vibration Records.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN

REPORT OF ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on January 14 at Keiogijuku; Dr. MacCauley in the Chair.

The Report of the Council for 1918, and the Treasurer's Report, were read and adopted unanimously by the meeting. These reports are annexed.

The chairman then called upon Dr. S. H. Wainwright to read selections from his paper, "A Buddhist Parallel to Poor Richard's Almanac (*Kokwa Jichiroku*)."

Upon adjournment, a Dinner was held at the Toyoken, at which 58 members and guests were present, to bid farewell to Mr. J. C. Hall, the retiring President, and Dr. W. W. McLaren, the retiring Corresponding Secretary, both of whom were shortly leaving Japan.

The result of the election of officers and Council for 1914 was as follows:—

OFFICERS

President.....	Sir Conyngham Greene, K.C.B.
Vice-Presidents.....	Dr. W. W. McLaren. Dr. N. G. Munro.
Corresponding Secretary...	Prof. E. P. Parvis.
Recording Secretary.....	Mr. G. B. Sansom.
Treasurer.....	Mr. J. Struthers.
Librarian.....	Mr. E. W. Clement.
Editor.....	Mr. A. W. Playfair.

COUNCIL

Professor Anezaki.	Rev. Clay MacCauley.
Mr. Gilbert Bowles.	Dr. J. N. Seymour.
Rev. J. Dahlman, S. J.	Professor J. T. Swift.
Mr. R. J. Kirby.	
who were members of the retiring Council and	
Mr. C. J. Arnell.	Rev. A. K. Reischauer.
Rev. T. McNair.	

REPORT OF COUNCIL FOR 1913

The following is an account of the Society's work during the year 1913:—

Nine General Meetings were held, with lectures or papers of which the titles are given below:—

- January 22: Paper, 'The life of Takano Choei,' (Second Part), by Dr. D.C. Greene.
- February 18: Dr. Jacobi, of Königsburg University. Lecture, 'Western Ideals in Japan.'
- March 12: Dr. C. R. Henderson, Professor of Practical Sociology at the University of Chicago. Lecture, 'Social Questions in relation to the Far East.'
- „ 19: Paper, 'The Great Shrine of Idzumo,' by W. L. Schwartz Esq.
- April 23: Paper, 'The Life of Nichiren,' by Professor Anezaki.
- May 21: Paper, 'Tokugawa Legislation (Part IV),' by J. C. Hall, Esq. C.M.G.
- June 18: Paper, 'Development of Representative Institutions in the First Half of Meiji,' by Dr. W. W. McLaren.
- November 26: Paper, 'Matsuura Takehiro, the Geographer,' by Professor Stazz.
- December 17: Selections from Papers.
- (1) 'The Japanese in the Philippines,' by M. Paske-Smith, Esq.
 - (2) 'The Sweet Potato,' by Dr. Simon.

In addition to the routine of Council Meetings, which have been regularly held, the Council have to report the following matters which have occupied their attention during the past session:—

(1) Publications

During the year under review the Society published Volume XLII, in five parts, as follows:—

Part 1.—198 pp. containing an **Essay on Japanese Modern Literature**, by Walter Denning; A notice of Capt. Piggott's "**Sōsho**" by Basil Hall Chamberlain; the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting for 1912.

Part 2.—156 pp., containing **Translations of Dasai Jun's Essays on "Doing Nothing" and "Divination"** by R. J. Kirby; **Translations of Sermons IV. V. VI. and VII. on the Ten Buddhistic Virtues**, by the Rev. G. W. Bouldin; and **Part 1 of Studies in Japanese Agriculture**, by J. Struthers, M.A., B. Sc.

Part 3.—128 pp. (illustrated), containing a **Life of Takano Nagahide**, translated and edited, with an introduction, by D. C. Greene, D.D.

Part 4.—188 pp. (illustrated), containing a **Monograph on the Great Shrine of Ise**, with **Notes on Shintō, Ancient and Modern**, by W. L. Schwartz, B.A.

Part 5.—122 pp. (illustrated), containing **Section IV of the Tokugawa Legislation**, viz., the **Edict in 100 Articles**, translated by J. C. Hall, C.M.G.

There was also issued in 1913 Volume XXXIX (belonging to 1911, but delayed in publication) containing a translation (illustrated) of the **Tsurezure Gusa**, with an Introduction and Notes, by G. B. Sansom.

Reprints were made of Volume XIV Part 2, Volume XV Part 2.

Attention is called to certain changes of form and content which have been made in the Society's printed Transactions, and which, the Council hope, will improve their appearance and utility. A standard format, to be adhered to henceforth, has been introduced, and the new binding in light

boards, while quite strong enough for ordinary use, is easily detachable, in case it is desired to assemble and rebind a number of parts. For the convenience of those who desire to do so, a general title page and table of contents for the volume has been prepared. An index for the volume has also been prepared and printed at the end of Part V. Part V contains a Supplement composed of the Articles of the Constitution and the By-Laws, lists of members, exchanges and subscribers, and a Catalogue of the Transactions. Each part now contains certain useful introductory matter, such as extracts from the Constitution, lists of officers of the Society, and notices of current interest to members. A new department has been added, in the shape of reviews of books on subjects of which the Society takes cognizance. Volume 41, part 1, for instance, contains a notice of Captain Piggott's work on "Sōsho," and Part 5, a review of Dr. Stopes' "Plays of Old Japan." It is hoped that this department may be greatly extended during the next few years, and that it may ultimately contain reviews and criticisms, by competent scholars, of all books of real merit upon Japan and China. It is thought that the inclusion of competent criticism of literature dealing with the Orient will add greatly to the value of the Society's publications.

(2) Organisation Committee

Though the Society has had little reason of late to complain of lack of contributions to its Transactions, it has been felt that there must still be a number of members who are in a position to do valuable work, and, though perhaps not able or inclined to devote themselves to original investigation, might assist by indicating or supplying materials for study to others. With this possibility in mind, a Sub-Committee, later made a standing Committee, styled the Organisation Committee, has been formed. Its duties are to promote and organise the production for the Society of both original and secondary materials for research in matters with which the Society is concerned. The first step taken by this

Committee was the issue of a Circular to Members, suggesting subjects of enquiry, and appealing for aid in the collection of information relating thereto. A large number of replies have been received, of a nature very gratifying to the Council, who are encouraged by them to think that interest in the Society's work has been much stimulated. In the ensuing session several interesting papers are expected as a direct result of this circular. It is the Organisation Committee's intention to continue work on these lines. Efforts will be made by members of the Committee, who will be selected for their attainments in various branches of study, to assist and direct the work of contributors. The Council hope that any members who are in a position to help in the Society's work will put themselves into communication with the Organisation Committee.

(3) Amendments to Constitution and By-Laws

During the past year, as the work of the organisation Sub-Committee progressed and as an exceptionally large amount of material passed through the hands of the Publications Committee, it became evident to the Council that a great gain in efficiency and despatch would result from a redistribution and concentration of functions of the Society's officers. With this end in view certain changes in the Constitution and By-Laws were introduced and duly confirmed at a General Meeting on December 17, 1918. Without going into details it may be mentioned here that the more important of these changes were (1) the creation of the Office of Editor, who, under direction, assumes responsibility for the issue of Transactions, whereas under the former arrangements responsibility was divided and indefinite; (2) the establishment of an Organisation Committee as a Standing Committee; and (3), as a corollary to the above changes, the redistribution and definition of the duties of other officers. The opportunity was also taken to introduce certain minor amendments of by-laws, all with the object of simplifying and expediting the Council's work.

(4) Library

As already stated in last year's Report, the Library is now settled in its quarters in the Keiogijuku Library-Building, where it has its own stock-room, with a Library Assistant in charge (Mr. Kasahara) who is always ready to give any help needed by those consulting the Society's books. The Library is open from 8-6 daily, except on Sundays and holidays, and during vacations there are special hours which may be ascertained on application to the Librarian. The number of volumes is about 3,000. They have been recatalogued on the card system, and almost all necessary binding of pamphlets, transactions, etc. has been completed.

On account of the expense of installing the Library in its new quarters, funds have not permitted the purchase of many new books, during the past year; but of the works added mention must be made of Siebold's Illustrations of Old Japan, which have been bound and made accessible for reference, thus constituting a very rare set of volumes.

With regard to the future of the Library, the Council hope that it may in time become a comprehensive Reference Library on Japan. The existing volumes form a valuable nucleus, and, with the aid of members, it should not be difficult to fill up gaps and to keep pace with current publications. To this end the Council earnestly appeal for gifts to the Library, from members and others, of books and periodicals relating to Japan and other Asiatic countries.

In submitting the foregoing Report to members, the Council feel they can claim that the Society has done a year of useful work, and that the appeal for co-operation with which they terminated their last Report has met with an adequate response. The outlook is promising and so long as that co-operation continues, assured.

HONORARY TREASURER'S REPORT

To the President of

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Sir,

I beg to report that the Accounts of the Society for the period ending December 31st, 1918 are as follows.

RECEIPTS

	Yen
To Balance brought forward 1st December 1912	2,083.28.
" Memberships...	2,224.00
(a) Annual Subscriptions	¥ 1,875.00
(b) Arrears paid up	228.00
(c) Life Subscriptions	324.00
(d) Library (30 years.)	120.00
(e) Entrance Fees	280.00
" Transactions sold...	651.64
" Murdoch's History Vol. I. sold	282.20
" Interest, Exchange and Sundries	171.25
	<u>6,862.27</u>

EXPENDITURES

	Yen
By Corresponding Secretary's potties	33.55
" Recording Secretary's potties	20.85
" Librarian	683.05
(a) Assistant	¥ 180.00
(b) Books	127.50
(c) Cataloguing	60.00
(d) Binding, Stack, Case	203.05
(e) Insurance	32.50
(f) Potties	10.00
" Rent, Meetings and Sundries	225.40
" Treasurer	227.00
(a) Stationery and Postage	¥ 128.00
(b) Organisation Sub-Committee	51.00
(c) Assistant	50.00
" Transactions	2,132.71
(a) Printing	¥ 1,510.50
(b) Research	205.00
(c) Illustrations and Sundries	67.04

(d) Packing and Distribution...	209.41
(e) Advertising ...	20.00
(f) Insurance ...	47.18
(g) Other per Contra ...	13.52
By Murdoch's History Vol. I...	57.59
" Furniture ...	119.96
" Balance carried forward ...	1,876.11
	5,382.27

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS 1909-1913.

RECEIPTS

	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
To Memberships ...	1,244.51	1,854.78	1,335.10	1,550.00	2,324.00
" Transactions sold ...	927.41	903.40	946.49	774.16	951.54
" Murdoch's History sold	909.25	939.50	913.20	262.20
" Interest and Sundries...	208.12	134.32	40.90	103.75	171.25
Total ...	2,380.04	3,261.81	2,662.08	3,341.19	3,298.99
Balance Brought Forward...	3,376.08	3,598.10	1,864.21	2,498.04	2,083.23
	5,757.02	6,859.97	4,526.29	5,839.13	5,382.27

EXPENDITURES

	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
By Transactions published	1,937.24	2,270.21	485.75	716.54	2,132.71
" Murdoch's History ...	—	2,606.70	500.13	1,003.00	57.59
" Library ...	240.18	144.00	50.00	782.00	682.05
" Lectures ...	15.00	—	—	245.00	—
" Administration ...	216.52	200.85	207.42	212.42	290.40
" Furniture ...	—	—	—	—	119.95
" Rent and Sundries ...	349.82	215.00	305.05	156.90	222.46
Total ...	2,159.86	5,508.76	1,567.35	3,716.55	3,503.16
Balance Carried Forward...	3,598.16	1,864.21	2,458.54	2,083.23	1,876.11
	5,757.02	6,859.97	4,025.89	5,800.13	5,382.27

On the side of income, it may be noted that the receipts from membership make a record. On the side of outlay it may be remarked that the Transactions Account disposes of nearly the whole of the income from membership but in the two years 1911 and 1912 the Transactions Account was small. The year 1913 has seen all arrears in the printing of Transactions made up and the cost of distribution to members and others has been heavy. The outlays on the Library are still this year above the average on account of cataloguing, stacks etc., which may be regarded as added to the

permanent equipment though they are charged in full against this one year. The Treasurer's outlays are somewhat heavy because of a new outfit of books and stationery and further the new Organisation Committee is responsible for 51 yen of his expense.

TRANSACTIONS

The most recent report of the Society's stock of Transactions from the agents is as at 1st October, 1913. The property of the Society is as follows:—

	Yen
Balance carried forward	1,376.11
Transactions as at 1st October, say	18,000.00
" abroad 1st October, say	160.00
Murdoch's History Vol. I. 550 say	1,248.00
Library (insured value.)	5,000.00
	<u>20,209.11</u>

The stock of Transactions has been written down to half the published price and it must also be noted that since 1st October three parts of Volume 41 and one reprint have been handed over to the Agents.

MEMBERSHIP

There have been recorded during the year 12 deaths, 16 resignations and 10 names have been dropped for non-payment of dues making a total loss of 37. Against these losses there have been 64 new members elected making a net gain of 27. The membership by classes is as follows:—

Honorary Members	7
Life Members	164
Ordinary Members	286
Libraries (30 years.)	11
Total	<u>438</u>

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN STEUTHERS,

Honorary Treasurer.

7th January, 1914.



SUPPLEMENT
TO
VOLUME XLII,
CONTAINING THE
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS;
LISTS OF MEMBERS, EXCHANGES AND
THIRTY-YEAR SUBSCRIBERS;
AND
A CATALOGUE OF THE TRANSACTIONS.



PRINTED
AT
JAPAN TRADING PRESS
TOKYO.

1914.



THE CONSTITUTION

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN

As Revised to December, 1914

Name and Objects

- Art. I. The Name of the Society shall be **The Asiatic Society of Japan.**
- Art. II. The object of the Society shall be to collect and publish information on subjects relating to Japan and other Asiatic Countries.
- Art. III. Communications on other subjects may, within the discretion of Council, be received by the Society, but shall not be published among the Papers forming the Transactions.

Membership

- Art. IV. The Society shall consist of Honorary members and members.
- Art. V. Honorary members shall be admitted upon special grounds, to be determined in each case by the Council. They shall not be resident in Japan, and shall not pay an entrance fee or annual subscription.
- Art. VI. Members shall on their election pay an entrance fee of five yen and the subscription for the current year. The annual subscription shall be five yen.

Any member elected after September 30th in any year shall not be required to pay the

subscription for the year of his election unless he wishes to receive the Transactions for that year.

Members, whether or not resident in Japan, may become Life Members:—

- a. On election, by paying the entrance fee and the sum of sixty yen;
 - b. At any time afterwards within a period of 25 years, by paying the sum of sixty yen, less yen 2.50 for each year of membership, and—
- After the expiration of 35 years, on application to the Treasurer without further payment.

Learned Societies, Educational Institutions and Public Libraries may obtain the Transactions of the Society by paying an annual subscription of five yen. ■ they elect to do so, they may compound the annual subscription for a term of thirty years by ■ single cash payment of sixty yen. They may then obtain back numbers at one half the published price.

Art. VII. The Annual Subscription shall be payable in advance, on the 1st of January in each year.

Any member failing to pay his subscription for the current year by the 30th of April shall be reminded of his omission by the Treasurer. If his subscription is two years in arrears, he shall be considered to have resigned his membership.

Art. VIII. Every member shall be entitled to receive the publications of the Society during the period of his membership.

Art. IX. The Council may appoint members of the Society to act as its Correspondents in various places outside of Tokyo.

Officers

- Art. X. The Officers of the Society shall be:—
A President,
Two Vice-Presidents,
A Corresponding Secretary,
A Recording Secretary,
A Treasurer,
A Librarian, and
An Editor.

Council

- Art. XI. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council composed of the officers for the current year and ten members.
- Art. XII. General meetings of the Society and meetings of the Council shall be held as the Council shall have appointed and announced.
- Art. XIII. The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held in January, at which the Council shall present its Annual Report and the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, duly audited by two members (not Councillors) nominated by the President.
- Art. XIV. Nine members shall form a quorum at any General Meeting, and five members at a Council Meeting. At all meetings of the Society and the Council, in the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, a Chairman shall be elected by the meeting. The Chairman shall not have a vote unless there is an equality of votes.
- Art. XV. Visitors (including representatives of the Press) may be admitted to the General Meetings by members of the Society, but shall not be permitted to address the meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

- Art. XVI. All members of the Society shall be elected by the Council. They shall be proposed at one meeting of the Council and balloted for at the next, one black ball in five to exclude; the Council may, if they deem it advisable, propose and elect a member at one and the same meeting; *provided*, that the name of the candidate has been notified to the members of the Council at least two weeks beforehand. Their election shall be announced at the General Meeting following.
- Art. $\frac{3}{4}$ VII. The Officers and other members of Council shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for one year.
- Art. XVIII. The Council shall fill all vacancies in its membership which occur between Annual Meetings.

Publications

- Art. XIX. The published Transactions of the Society shall contain:—(1) Such papers and notes read before the Society as the Council shall have selected, and (2) in each annual volume, the Report and Accounts presented to the last Annual Meeting, the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society and a List of Members.
- Art. XX. Twenty-five separate copies of each published paper shall be placed at the disposal of the author.
- Art. XXI. The Council shall have power to distribute copies of the Transactions at its discretion.
- Art. XXII. The Council shall have power to publish, in separate form, papers, documents or books which it considers of sufficient value or importance.
- Art. XXIII. Papers accepted by the Council shall become the property of the Society and shall not be

published elsewhere without the consent of the Council.

Acceptance of a paper for reading at a General Meeting of the Society does not bind the Society to publish it afterwards; but when the Council has decided not to publish any paper accepted for reading, that paper shall be restored to the author without restriction as to its further use.

Making of By-Laws

Art. **XXIV.** The Council shall have power to make and amend By-Laws for its own and the Society's guidance, provided that these are not inconsistent with the Constitution; and a General Meeting, by a majority vote, may suspend the operation of any By-Law.

Amendments

Art. **XXV.** None of the foregoing Articles of the Constitution shall be amended except at a General Meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and only if due notice of the proposed Amendment shall have been given at a previous General Meeting.

BY-LAWS

General Meetings

- Art. I. The Session of the Society shall coincide with the Calendar year, the Annual Meeting taking place in January.
- Art. II. Ordinarily the Session shall consist of nine monthly General Meetings; but it may include a less or greater number when the Council finds reason for such a change.
- Art. III. The place and time of Meeting shall be fixed by the Council, preference being given, to 4 p.m. on the Third Wednesday of each month. The place of meeting may be in Yokohama when the occasion is favourable.
- Art. IV. Timely notice of every General Meeting shall be sent by post to members resident in Tokyo and Yokohama.

Order of Business at General Meetings

- Art. V. The Order of Business at General Meetings shall be:—
- (1) Action on Minutes of the last Meeting;
 - (2) Communications for the Council;
 - (3) Miscellaneous Business, and
 - (4) The Reading and Discussion of papers.

The above order shall be observed except when the Chairman shall rule otherwise.

At Annual Meetings the Order of Business shall include, in addition to the foregoing items:—

- (5) The Reading of the Council's Annual Report and of the Treasurer's Accounts, and the submission of these for the action of the Meeting upon them, and
- (6) The Election of Officers and Council, as directed by Article XVII of the Constitution.

Meetings of Council

- Art. VI. The Council shall appoint its own Meetings, preference as to time being given to 8.80 p.m. on the first Wednesday of each month.
- Art. VII. Timely notice of every Council Meeting shall be sent by post to the members of the Council, and shall contain a statement of any extraordinary business to be done.

Order of Business at Council Meetings

- Art. VIII. The Order of Business at Council Meetings shall be:—
- (1) Action upon the Minutes of the last Meeting;
 - (2) *Reports:—*
of the Corresponding Secretary,
of the Organisation Committee,
of the Publications Committee,
of the Treasurer,
of the Librarian,
of Special Committees;
 - (3) The Election of Members;
 - (4) The Nomination of Candidates for Membership of the Society;
 - (5) Miscellaneous Business;

- (6) Acceptance of Papers to be read before the Society, and
- (7) Arrangement of the Business of the next General Meeting.

Organisation Committee

Art. IX. There shall be a Standing Committee entitled the Organisation Committee and composed of such members of the Society as the Council shall, from time to time, appoint. It shall choose its own Chairman.

The purpose of this Committee shall be to encourage and organise research among the members of the Society.

To that end it shall, from time to time, publish a report containing a survey of the materials contained in the Transactions and of the fields of study not adequately treated. It shall also collect materials for study, and advise and assist members who are willing to contribute to the work of the Society.

It shall have competence to draw up its own rules of procedure.

It shall report periodically to and act under the authority of the Council.

Publications Committee

Art. X. There shall be a Standing Committee entitled the Publications Committee and composed of the Secretaries, the Treasurer, the Editor, and any Members appointed by the Council. It shall ordinarily be presided over by the Editor.

The Publications Committee shall:—

1. Arrange for the sending of copies of the Transactions to all members not in arrears for dues, according

to the list furnished by the Treasurer, and to all Societies and Journals, the names of which are on the list of Exchanges;

2. Arrange with booksellers and others for the sale of the required number of each issue to the appointed agents and keep a record of all such business;
3. Present to the Council at its November Meeting a statement of the Stock of Transactions possessed by the Society.
4. It shall report periodically to and act under the authority of the Council.
5. It shall audit the accounts for printing the Transactions.

Duties of the Corresponding Secretary

Art. XI. The Corresponding Secretary shall:—

1. Conduct the Correspondence of the Society;
2. Arrange for and issue notice of Council Meetings, and provide that all official business be brought duly and in order before each Meeting;
3. Attend every Council Meeting or give notice to the Recording Secretary that he will be absent;
4. Notify new Officers and Members of Council of their appointment and send them each a copy of the By-Laws;
5. Co-operate with the Recording Secretary, Treasurer, Editor and Librarian in drafting the Annual

- Report of the Council and in preparing for publication all matters as defined in Article XIII of the Constitution;
6. Act on the Publications Committee.

Duties of the Recording Secretary

Art. XII. The Recording Secretary shall:—

1. Keep Minutes of General Meetings;
2. Make arrangements for General Meetings as instructed by the Council and notify members resident in Tokyo and Yokohama;
3. Inform the Treasurer of the election of new Members;
4. Attend every General Meeting and Meeting of Council, or in case of absence, depute the Corresponding Secretary or some other member of Council to perform his duties and forward to him the Minute Book;
5. Act for the Corresponding Secretary in the latter's absence;
6. Act on the Publications Committee;
7. Assist in drafting the Annual Report of the Council;
8. Furnish abstracts of Proceedings at General Meetings to newspapers and public prints as directed by the Council.

Duties of the Treasurer

Art. XIII. The Treasurer shall:—

1. Take charge of the Society's funds in accordance with the instructions of the Council;

2. Take charge of the Society's stock of Transactions and other publications;
3. Apply to the President to appoint auditors, and present the annual Balance sheet to the Council, duly audited, before the date of the Annual Meeting;
4. Attend every Meeting of the Council and report upon the money-affairs of the Society;
5. Notify new members of their election and the amount of the entrance fee and subscription due, and send them copies of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society;
6. Collect subscriptions and notify members of their unpaid dues at least twice a year; apply to agents for the sale of the Society's Transactions in Japan and abroad for payment of sums owing the Society;
7. Make all payments for the Society under the direction of the Council, making no single payment in excess of ten yen, without special vote of the Council, except on accounts approved by the Publications Committee;
8. Report to the Council at its January Meeting the names of members who are in arrears, and furnish the Publications Committee with the names of any members to whom the sending of Transactions is to be stopped;

9. Prepare for publication the List of Members of the Society;
10. Act on the Publications Committee.

Duties of the Editor

Art. XIV. The Editor shall:—

1. Attend all meetings of the Council and report for the Publications Committee;
2. Take charge of authors' MSS. and under the authorisation of the Council arrange for the printing of the Transactions;
3. Under the general direction of the Publications Committee he shall assume responsibility for the issuance of the annual volume, and such reprints as are ordered by the Council;
4. Submit all estimates and accounts for printing to the Publications Committee;
5. Act on the Publications Committee.

Duties of the Librarian

Art. XV. The Librarian shall:—

1. Take charge of the Society's Library, keep its books and periodicals in order, and superintend the cataloguing of all additions to the Library and the binding and preservation of the books;
2. Carry out the Regulations of the Council for the use and lending of the Society's books;
3. Arrange, under the direction of the Council, all new exchanges of

the Transactions with Societies and Journals;

4. Draw up a list of exchanges and of additions to the Library for insertion in the Council's Annual Report;
5. Make additions to the Library as instructed by the Council;
6. Attend every meeting of the Council and report on Library matters.

Library and Meeting Room

- Art. XVI.** The Society's Rooms and Library shall be at Keiō University 2 Nishome, Mita, Tokyo, to which all letters and parcels should be sent.
- Art. XVII.** The Library shall be open to members for consultation every day, Sundays and holidays excepted, and books may be borrowed by members, for a period not exceeding one year, by depositing receipts for the same with the Assistant Librarian.

Sale of Transactions

- Art. XVIII.** A member may obtain at half-price for his own use copies of any Part of the Transactions.
- Art. XIX.** The Transactions shall be kept on sale by Agents approved of by the Council and shall be supplied to these Agents at a discount price fixed by the Council.

Bankers

- Art. XX.** The Society's Bankers shall be the Mitsu Bishi Goshi Kaisha, Banking Department, 1 Yayasun-cho, Itchome, Kojimachi, Tokyo, to whom should be remitted direct the annual subscriptions of members, or other money due to the Society.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN

as at September, 1914

Honorary Members

- Chamberlain, Prof. B. H., 12 rue de l'Athénée, Genève,
Switzerland.
- Gubbins, O.M.C., J. H., 10 Lethbury Road, Oxford, **England**.
- MacDonald, O.C.M.C., Col. Sir Claude M., **London**.
- Rein, Prof. J. J., Bonn-am-Rhein, **Germany**.
- Satow, O.C.M.C., Rt. Hon. Sir Ernest M., Ottery St. Mary,
Devon, **England**.
- Sayce, LLTD, D.D., Prof. A. H., Queen's Coll., **Oxford**.
- Wigmore, LL.D., Prof. J. H. Evanston, Ill., **U.S.A.**

Members

* Life Member

- *Alexander, Rev. R. P., Aoyama Gakuin, Aoyama, **Tokyo**.
- Alker, Dr. Francis, Lever Bros. Lt'd., P. O. Box 174, **Kobe**.
- Allen, R.N., Lieut. E. J., The Admiralty, Whitehall, **London, England**.
- *Amerman, D.D., Rev. James L., 25 E. 22nd St., New York
City, N. Y., **U.S.A.**
- Andrews, Rev. R. W., Kita Kuruwa-cho, Maebashi, **Gumma-
ken**.
- *Andrews, D.D., Rt. Rev. Bishop Walter, 43 Yachigashira-
machi, Hakodate, **Hokkaido**.
- *Akesaki, Prof. M., 78 Sasugaya-cho, Koishikawa-ku, **Tokyo**.
- Armstrong, Rev. R. C., Kwansei Gakuin, **Kobe**.
- Arnell, C. J., American Embassy, **Tokyo**.
- *Asakawa, PH.D., Prof. K. Yale University, New Haven,
Conn., **U.S.A.**

- Ascherson, Dr. W. L., 56 Yama Shioya, Akashi-gun, Hyogo-ken.
- *Atkinson, R.B.C., R. W., 44 Stuart St., Cardiff, Wales, England.
- Austin, R. McP., c/o British Consulate-General, Yokohama.
- Axling, Rev. W., 10 Fujimi-cho, Rokuchome, Kojimachi-ku, Tokyo.
- Babcock, Miss B. R., Koriyama-machi, Asaka-gun, Fukushima-ken.
- Baker, Miss Mary C., 12 Sanchome, Tamachi, Ushigome-ku, Tokyo.
- Ball, H. G., ■ Yamashita-cho, Yokohama.
- Ball, Miss Katharine M., 1790 Pine St., San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A.
- *Baroda, His Highness the Gaekwar of, Baroda, India.
- Bastin, Chas., Belgian Consulate-General, 46-A Bluff, Yokohama.
- *Batchelor, R.R.C.S., Rev. J., 1 Kita Sanjo Nishi Ichome, Sapporo, Hokkaido.
- Bates, Rev. C. J. L., Kwansai Gakuin, Kobe.
- Beach, Prof. Harlan P., Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
- Bedinger, G. R., Milk & Baby Hygiene Association, 26 Bennett St., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- *Belavenetz, Lieut. P. I., Sevastopol, Russia.
- Benninghoff, Rev. H. B., 91 Banten-cho, Ushigome-ku, Tokyo.
- Bernard, C. B., 210 Yamashita-cho, Yokohama.
- Berrick, B. R., "Duneaves", Harrow-on-the-Hill, England.
- *Bigelow, Dr. W. S., 56 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- Blake, D. H., 28 Yamashita-cho, Yokohama.
- *Blanchet, Rev. C. T., 422 Monroe Heights, Ft Meyers, Fla., U.S.A.
- Blattner, Mrs. E. J., c/o H. Blattner Esq., 514 Washington Ave., St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
- Bles, Arthur, 31 Boulevard Pereira, Paris, France.
- Bless, M. D., Dr. Theodore, 48 Minami-cho, Ichome, Aoyama, Akasaka-ku, Tokyo.

Bloekhuys, E. J., 13 Hara-machi, Koishikawa-ku, **Tokyo**.

*Booth, Rev. E. S., 178 Bluff, **Yokohama**.

Booth, F. S., Messrs. Sale & Frazar, 6 Babasaki, Kojimachi, **Tokyo**.

Bouldin, Rev. G. W., Scottsboro, Ala., **U.S.A.**

Boulter, R., British Consulate, Dairen, **Manchuria**.

Bowden, V. R., Messrs. Sale & Frazar, 6 Babasaki, Kojimachi, **Tokyo**.

Bowie, H. P., San Mateo, Cal., **U.S.A.**

Bowles, Gilbert, 30 Koun-machi, Mita, Shiba-ku, **Tokyo**.

Boyd, Miss L. H., 21 Iida-machi, Roku-chome, Kojimachi-ku, **Tokyo**.

Brand, Capt. the Hon. Herbert G., R.N., British Embassy, **Tokyo**, & Admiralty, London, **England**.

Brooke, C., Nestle & Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Co., 6-8 Eastcheap, London, E. C., **England**.

Brylinski, Lieut. R., 10 Hinoki-cho, Akasaka-ku, **Tokyo**.

Buchanan, Prof., 12 Shinryudo-cho, Azabu-ku, **Tokyo**.

*Buck, Mrs. A. E., 207 W. Peachtree St., Atlanta, Ga., **U.S.A.**

*Buckman, Williamson, 102 N. Clinton Ave., Trenton, N.J., **U.S.A.**

Burrell, U. F., Brown MacFarlan & Co., 19 St. Vincent Place, Glasgow, **Scotland**.

Caldwell, J. K., American Embassy, **Tokyo**.

Calthrop, R.A., Capt. E. F., c/o British Embassy, **Tokyo**.

Carew, H., Messrs. Sale & Frazar, 56 Nakanoshima, Go-chome, Higashi-ku, **Osaka**.

Carlsen, Miss V. D., 26, Hodono Atago-cho, **Akita**.

*Cary, D.D., Rev. Otis, Karasumaru-dori, Ichijo-sagaru, **Kyoto**.

Cecil, D.D., Rt. Rev. Bishop, 11 Sakae-cho, Shiba-ku, **Tokyo**.

Chapman, Rev. J. J., Temma, **Nara**.

Chappell, Rev. J., 535 Naka-machi, Mito, **Ibaraki-ken**.

*Cheon, A., Sorey-Bauthemont par Amagne, Ardennes, **France**.

Clark, Alexander, 224 Bluff, **Yokohama**.

- *Clarke-Thornhill, T. B., 3 Carlisle Place, Victoria St., London, **England**.
- *Clement, E. W., 34 Minami-cho, Ushigome-ku, **Tokyo**.
- Clinton, J. M., International Committee, International Bldg., 124 East 88th St., New York City, **U.S.A.**
- Coates, D.D., Rev. H. H., 7 Aoyama Gakuin, Aoyama, **Tokyo**.
- Cobb, Rev. E. S., Karasumara-deri, Imadegawa-agaru, **Kyoto**.
- Coggeshall, R. F., c/o H. W. Darling Esq., Wendell Ave., Schenectady, New York, **U.S.A.**
- Coleman, H. E., 53 Isarago, Shiba-ku, **Tokyo**.
- *Corder, J., 25 Mikawadaimachi, Azabu-ku, **Tokyo**.
- Cooke, Rev. A. W., Sendai (absent)
- *Cooper, LL.D., C. J., 20 Hertford St., Cambridge, **England**.
- *Courant, Maurice, 3 Chamin du Chancelier, Bouilly, Rhone, **France**.
- Crow, Carl, c/o "Japan Advertiser," 18 Yamashita-cho, Kyobashi-ku, **Tokyo**.
- Cunning, Alex., 7 Bund, **Yokohama**.
- Cunningham, W. B., British Embassy, **Tokyo**.
- Curtice, R. S., American Embassy, **Tokyo**.
- Dahlmann, S. J., Rev. J., 7 Kioi-cho, Kojimachi-ku, **Tokyo**.
- Dalton, Miss M., 10 Hinoki-cho, Akasaka-ku, **Tokyo**.
- Davey, Rev. P. A. (absent).
- Davis, J. Merle, 22 Go-chome, Fujimi-cho, Kojimachi-ku, **Tokyo**.
- Dearing, D.D., Rev. J. L., 76 Bluff, **Yokohama**.
- de Becker, J. E., 76 Yamashita-cho, **Yokohama**.
- de Calle, H. E. Baron, c/o Foreign Office, Vienna, **Austria**.
- de Havilland, W. A., 8 Mitau Bishi B'ld'gs, Yayas-cho, Kojimachi-ku, **Tokyo**.
- *De Wollant, G., Vorontzovski 26, Jalta, Crimea, **Russia**.
- Denton, Miss Mary F., Doshisha Girls' School, **Kyoto**.
- *Dickins, F. V., Seend Lodge, Wilts, **England**.
- *Dixon, F.R.S.E., J. M., University of Southern California, 3500 Wesley Ave., Los Angeles, Cal., **U.S.A.**
- *Dixon, Rev. W. G., The Manse, Roslyn, Dunedin, **New Zealand**.

Dodge, P. H., 32 Nichome, Fujimi-cho, Kojimachi-ku, Tokyo.

Draper, Rev. G. F., Aoyama Gakuin, Aoyama, Tokyo.

*Droppers, Prof. Garrett, Williamstown, Mass., U.S.A.

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*Dunning, Rev. M. D., Doshisha University, Kyoto.

*Eby, D.D., Rev. C. S., 220 Westmoreland Ave., Toronto, Canada.

Egan, J. R., Fort Santiago, Manila, P. I.

Eldridge, F. R., 23 Bluff, Yokohama.

Ellet, Sir Charles, The University of Hongkong, Hongkong.

Elwin, Rev. W. H., 7 Saengaya-cho, Koishikawa-ku, Tokyo.

Enrique, Joaquin, 170-A Bluff, Yokohama.

Evans, Rev. Charles H., 31 Hodono Naka-cho, Akita.

*Favre-Brandt, J., 145 Bluff, Yokohama.

*Fearing, Hon. Daniel B., Newport, Rhode Island, U.S.A.

Feinler, Rev. F., American Embassy, Tokyo.

Fileene, Edward A., 453 Washington St., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

Fisher, Galen M., 28 Fujimi-cho, Go-shome, Kojimachi-ku, Tokyo.

Fleisher, B. W., c/o "Japan Advertiser," 18 Yamashita-cho, Tokyo.

*Flemmich, O. C., Alton House, Roehampton, England.

*Florenz, Prof. Dr. Karl, 171 Bluff, Yokohama.

Flournoy, Mrs. J., 2299 Sacramento St., San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A.

*Forbes, Miss, 28 Hirakawa-cho, Kojimachi-ku, Tokyo.

Ford, W. C., 1154 Boylston St., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

Fowke, V. L. P., British Embassy, Tokyo.

Fox, Eugene, 75 Yamashita-cho, Yokohama.

*Foxwell, E., St. John's College, Cambridge, England.

Frazar, E. W., 119 Bluff, Yokohama.

Gadsby, John, 72 Yamashita-cho, Yokohama.

*Gardiner, J. McD., 32 Dote Sanban-cho, Kojimachi-ku, Tokyo.

Gasco, A., Italian Embassy, Tokyo.

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Gibbs, J. B. J., 89-C Yamashita-cho, Yokohama.

- *Giussani, Carlo, 14 Via Passarella, Milan, Italy.
- *Goodrich, J. K., 130 N. College St., Carlisle, Penn., **U.S.A.**
- *Goodkins, F. W., 13 West Walton Place, Chicago, Ill., **U.S.A.**
- Gosman, Major G., c/o The War Department, Washington, D.C., **U.S.A.**
- Goucher, D.D., Rev. J. F., Goucher College, Baltimore, Md., **U.S.A.**
- Gough, Rev. P., The Vicarage, Heptonstall, Yorks, **England.**
- *Gowland, F.M.S., Prof. W., 13 Russel R'd, Kensington, London, **England.**
- Gray, A. R., Protestant Episcopal Church Mission, 281 Fourth Ave., New York City, **U.S.A.**
- Greene, K.O.B., H. E. Sir C., British Embassy, Tokyo.
- Griffin, J. C., 217-B Bluff, Yokohama.
- *Griffis, D.D., Rev. Wm. Elliot, Glen Place, Ithaca, New York, **U.S.A.**
- *Groom, A. H., 188 Nakayamate, Nichome, **Kobe.**
- Gulick, D.D., Rev. S. L., Teramachi-dori, 6 Nichinoki-cho, **Kyoto.**
- Guthrie, H.E. G. W., American Embassy, Tokyo.
- Guttridge, G. W., c/o Yokohama United Club, Yokohama.
- *Guy, F.H.D., Rev. Dr. H. H., Dep't. of History, Pacific Theological Seminary, Berkeley, California, **U.S.A.**
- Gwatkin, F. A., British Embassy, Tokyo.
- *Gwatkin-Williams, R.N., Commander R. S. c/o The Manager, Capital & Counties Bank, Lt'd., Commercial Road, Portsmouth, **England.**
- *Haas, D.D., Rev. H., High Philosopher Way 9 University, Prof. in Jena, **Germany.**
- Hagin, Rev. Fred E., 65 Miyashita-cho, Koishikawa-ku, **Tokyo.**
- Hall, M.D., C. H. H., 101 Yukinoshita, Kamakura, **Soshu.**
- Hall, Mrs. F. G., c/o Miss Cleveland, Nutwood, Jamaica Plain, Mass., **U.S.A.**
- *Hall, Frank, Elmira, New York, **U.S.A.**
- *Hall, C.M.G., I.S.O., J. C., Royal Societies' Club, London, **England.**

Hargrove, C. R.,

Harris, D.D., LL.D., Rev. Bishop M. C., Aoyama Gakuin, Aoyama, **Tokyo.**

*Harrison, A. C., 1910 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Penn., **U.S.A.**

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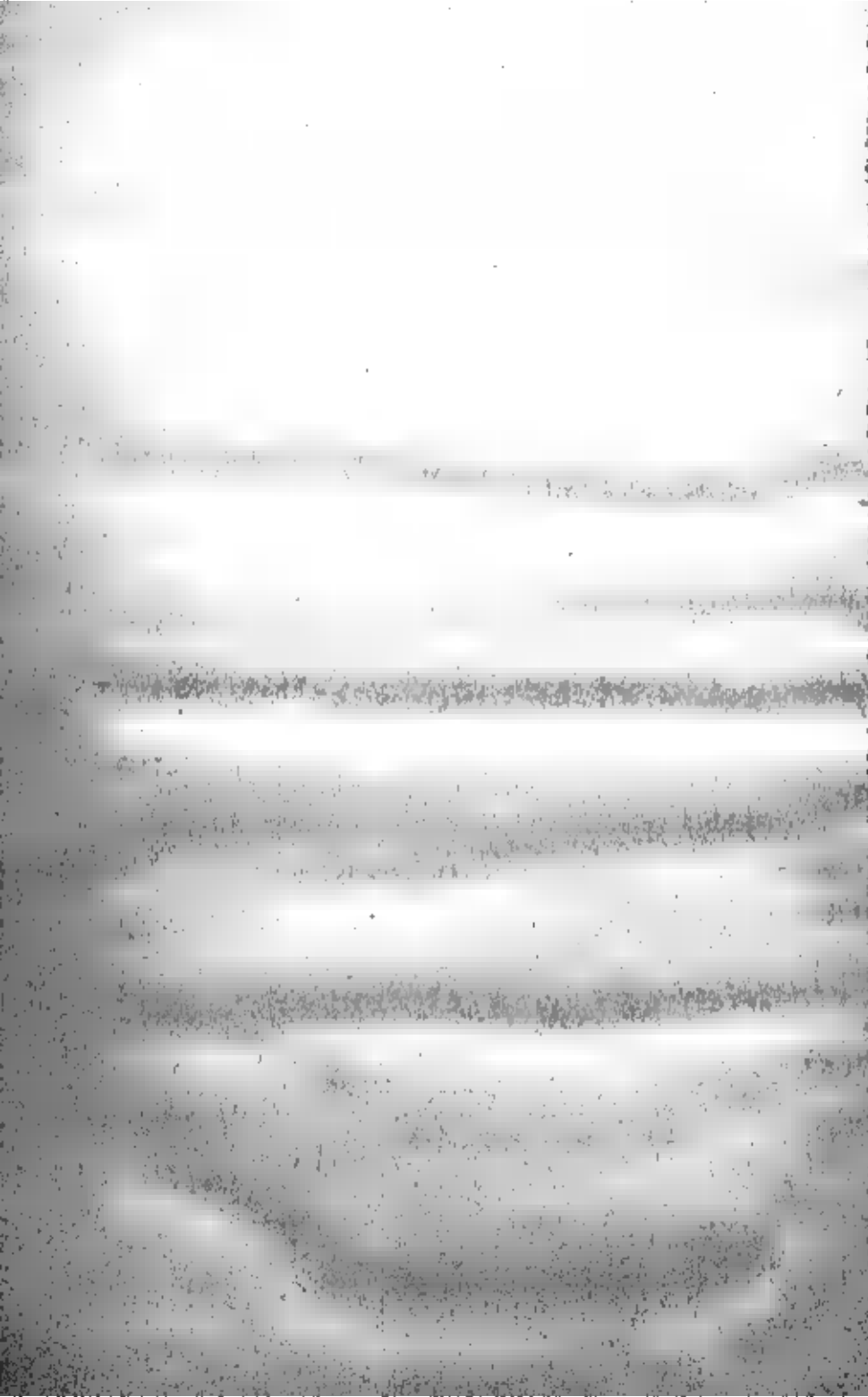
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